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The Week

ASSISTANT Secretary of State Moley's speech on the prospects of the economic conference was, in our opinion, correct in warning that too much was not to be expected from it. It will indeed be difficult to bring about the reduction of tariffs and the abolition of trade restrictions by means of which, it is hoped, international trade may be revived. Even coöperation among central banks and an agreement to stabilize the exchange values of currencies, which Mr. Moley does hope for, is not wholly practicable without simultaneous tariff concessions. What can be established as a permanent relationship between the dollar on one side and the pound, the franc, the mark and the lira on the other? That all depends on the balance of payments. We are a creditor nation and have a large "favorable" balance. Unless we change from having an export surplus of goods to an import surplus, the long-run tendency will be for a continued upward pressure on the dollar and a continual flow of gold to the United States, if a gold standard is restored and free movement of gold is permitted. Exchanges cannot be stabilized unless we allow our debtors to pay us in goods—so long as the debts are not defaulted and we do not postpone the day of reckoning by more foreign lending. But we cannot do that unless we lower our tariffs. If President Roosevelt asks from Congress, and receives, the right to overhaul our whole tariff structure, the London Conference may succeed. If he does not, it can hardly accomplish anything worth while.

JAPANESE troops, as we write, are at the gates of Peiping and Tientsin, and the defense of those cities is practically abandoned. Military observers believe that the Japanese intend to dominate all northern China as far as the Yellow River, setting up another buffer state like Manchukuo. They will attempt to make this action seem like a genuine revolt on the part of the Chinese population against such authority as the Nanking government still possesses, but the "revolution" will be no more genuine than was the one in Manchuria. It is interesting to note that all the talk about concerted action of the Great Powers to stop Japan has now died away. The bitter truth is that the Western world probably has not the power and certainly has not the will to oppose the Japanese adventure by force. There is every indication that President Roosevelt, realizing the extremely dangerous situation toward which this country was drifting under Messrs. Hoover and Stimson, has altered American policy. It cannot be too often repeated that there is no hope of peace maintained through international coercion when the nations which would have to do the coercing are not genuinely desirous of preventing war, but are simply playing the old international game under a new terminology.

TO THE undoubted astonishment of everybody, including particularly the Hitler government, Germany's treatment of the Jews has come before the League of Nations. In 1922, Germany and Poland signed an agreement whereby all citizens of German Silesia were guaranteed equal treatment "without distinction as to race, language or religion." It is contended—and obviously with good reason—that the new anti-Semitic laws in Germany violate this treaty, and Sir Eric Drummond has now agreed that the League of Nations should take cognizance of the matter. It is an excellent thing that Germany should thus be called to account before the

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only bar of public opinion which the world has—however feeble and inadequate a bar it may be. And there is just a faint chance that if Hitler is forced to cease the persecution of the Jews in German Silesia, and that territory becomes a Hebrew sanctuary in Germany, the government may seize the opportunity to relax somewhat its oppressions against the Jews elsewhere in the Reich. Germany's economic position is becoming extremely serious, and this is partly due to the worldwide, unofficial but powerful boycott by Jews on German goods and services. The Hitlerites obviously had no idea what a storm they were stirring up when they embarked upon their "cold pogrom"; and certainly the saner element among them (and even the Nazis have their saner elements) must be considering ways of getting out of the mess.

THE contrast between Hoover's methods and Roosevelt's was never better exhibited than in the treatment of the bonus marchers. Mr. Hoover vacillated for weeks and then drove the veterans out of Washington with disgraceful brutality. Mr. Roosevelt planned in advance for the arrival of the marchers, gave them quarters in a near-by army camp and provided them with three good meals a day. It was explained to them, politely but firmly, that, at least for the present, the President is opposed to the bonus and would veto any bill which Congress might pass. The marchers, and other ex-soldiers, were offered enrolment in the forestry army, at $1 a day *and board*—which, when both halves of the offer are taken into account, is certainly equal to the going wage for similar work, under private auspices, in the United States today. As a result, and despite the fact that most of the bonus marchers were supposed to be under Communist leadership, nearly all of them have signed up for the forestry army. The others are being given railroad tickets back to their homes, the cost to be deducted eventually from their service-compensation certificates. When the last large contingent of them marched across Washington, one policeman shepherded them! Courteous treatment of the bonus army is of course not enough in itself. Mr. Roosevelt has taken upon himself the task of getting the members—and the rest of America's unemployed—decent jobs at decent wages, and this task is a thousand times more important than skillful handling of the veterans. Nevertheless it is worth recording that there is in the White House now a man who is both something of a humanitarian and a master diplomat.

LOUIS GLAVIS, the man who unearthed the Ballinger scandal in the Taft administration, is again in the government service, and has been investigating conditions at Muscle Shoals. He reports some findings which look extremely peculiar, to say the least. An auxiliary dam was planned, under Mr. Hoover, which is twenty feet lower than it ought to be, so that in time of low water, the power production would be 20 to 40 percent less than has been expected. Glavis also charges misuse of government property by the private power interests which have leased part of the enterprise. It is said in Washington that a formal investigation will be made, and that among the witnesses will be former Secretary of War Hurley and perhaps former President Hoover. It is obviously of the highest importance that these charges, having been made, should be sifted carefully so that the country may know what foundation of fact they have and whether or not the Coolidge and Hoover regimes were guilty of "constructive sabotage."

TOM MOONEY is being tried again in San Francisco on an old indictment similar to that on which he was first sentenced to death and then had his sentence changed to life imprisonment. A successful outcome would have no direct legal effect upon his present sentence, but would have very great moral weight. It might also make possible an appeal to the federal courts. Unfortunately, his defense committee is almost penniless, and a small amount of money is badly needed to carry on the work. Readers of The New Republic are urged to send their contributions, large or small, to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, Box 1475, San Francisco, California, or to the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

THE Roosevelt administration undoubtedly intends to resume diplomatic relations with Russia some time in the next few months; and The New Republic wholeheartedly welcomes this fact. Almost the only thing which could prevent it would be a few more editorials in the Russian press like the one this week which held out a glittering bait of trade to America in exchange for recognition. In the first place, sensible Americans know that, generally speaking, Russia buys in the best market ("best" including advantageous credit terms) and sells wherever she can. Recognition would remove some existing difficulties, but not all of them: we have in the past sold Russia far larger amounts, without recognition, than other countries have done after exchanging ambassadors. In the second place, even if Americans were resuming relations only for business reasons, they would hate to have this fact shouted in the world's ear. In the third place, it isn't the whole truth. Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers are in favor of recognition partly because of new markets but even more, in our opinion, because it is an act of common sense and in accord with the traditions of American diplomacy.

IN THE article, "Class War in the Corn Belt," by Lief A. Dahl, appearing in The New Republic of May 17, there appeared a reference to a "starvation strike" of the farmers. Mr. Dahl's language was somewhat altered by the editors in preparing his article for publication, and he wishes to make it clear that he referred, not to starvation enforced

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by the farmers against the urban population, but to starvation conditions among the farmers which helped to bring the strike about. The strike plans call for the free distribution of perishable food and milk to the city unemployed, as was done in the farm strike last autumn. The strike "is a union of city workers and farmers against processors and middlemen who are robbing both." Mr. Dahl also wishes to guard against any impression that the farmers expect, or desire, "violence and bloodshed." Should any occur, he says, it will come from the food trusts rather than from the farmers.

The Industrial Recovery Bill

IT IS easy to summarize the words of the Industrial Recovery Bill, more difficult to predict what it will be like in practice. Probably nobody really knows for certain.

There are two titles in the bill, the first having to do with the organization of industry, the second with public works.

The first title remains in force only for two years. It contains the following major provisions:

1. The President may establish an industrial-planning and research agency and may delegate as he chooses any of the powers given him by the bill.

2. Any trade or industrial association may adopt a code of "fair competition." The President may approve the code if the association is "truly representative" and if the code is "not designed to promote monopolies or to eliminate or oppress small enterprises." He may, as a condition of approval, impose requirements for the protection of consumers, employees and others, such as keeping accounts and making reports. He may make exemptions from the code.

3. After the code is approved, it is enforceable by law, with penalties for violation. The courts can issue injunctions against violation, and the United States attorneys must institute equity proceedings to this end.

4. If no code is approved as above, and the President believes one necessary in any industry, he may prescribe one.

5. The President may make agreements or approve voluntary agreements to further the purpose of the bill. He may also institute a licensing system in any industry if that is necessary to make a code or agreement effective. In that case, nobody can engage in that business without a license, and licenses are revocable by the President.

6. Any action under the provisions of the bill is exempt from the anti-trust laws.

7. Under any code, agreement or licensing system, the employees are to have the right of collective bargaining; yellow-dog contracts and the closed union shop are both outlawed; and employers must apply the minimum wages, maximum hours and labor conditions "approved or prescribed by the President." These standards are to be worked out by collective agreement between labor and employers if possible. But where no agreement is approved by him, the President may investigate, hold hearings and prescribe labor standards.

8. The President may at any time cancel or modify any of the above arrangements.

The second title sets up a new administration of public works. This is to prepare a comprehensive program "which shall include among other things" highways, parkways, buildings, conservation of natural resources (including prevention of soil erosion, development of water power, transmission of electric energy), low-cost housing and slum clearance, and virtually any other project. It also includes naval and army building in so far as this is consistent with arms-limitation treaties and the wishes of the President. The President may go ahead with this program and make grants to states and local governments for doing so, up to 30 percent of the cost. There is an appropriation of $3,300 million for these purposes and provision for a tax to meet the interest and sinking-fund requirements.

Clearly, the second title is the less important. Spending $3,300 million for a carefully designed program of public works under the broad definition of this bill may add a good deal to the national welfare, but it is not nearly enough by itself to bring recovery.

What can happen under the first title? Let us imagine a few samples.

A sweated industry like clothing can adopt a code of "fair competition" based on minimum wages and maximum hours. These standards can be approved by the President, in which case they have the force of law. Competition at the expense of labor standards will be at an end. The President may also specify any other desirable arrangements to regularize the industry. He may require uniform cost accounting. The effect will be, presumably, to raise the prices of clothing even though no definite price agreements are reached. All this should be highly desirable.

If the President does not like such a code, he can decline to approve it. And if he declines, he can specify a code which he does like. He can do the same thing in any industry which does not submit any code at all. These powers will be useful in cases where labor is not organized and standards cannot be reached by collective bargaining.

If the code is widely violated, or anybody in the industry fails to subscribe to it, the President can install a licensing system and refuse to issue licenses to those who will not abide by it.

As a device for putting an end to competition at the expense of labor standards in sweated industries, the prices of whose products have fallen to levels too low to be maintained under decent conditions, the machinery provided is apparently adequate.

Now let us take another case. The steel industry, which has maintained its prices at comparatively high levels, though its volume of output has shrunk very low, formulates its existing code of trade practices and gets legal sanction for them. It thus is virtually enabled to maintain a monopoly price. It may make some concessions in wages and hours, but these will be of little use to steel labor, because

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the low output means a large volume of unemployment. Under any such arrangement, the steel industry may not recover, because it cannot sell enough steel at the high prices, and the relatively high prices it maintains may interfere with recovery elsewhere and imperil the permanence of whatever recovery does occur.

Obviously, what is sound policy in one industry may not be sound policy in another. Much discussion of the bill assumes that, under it, every industry will prepare to raise its prices. In so far as a general inflation occurs, it is possible for virtually all prices to go up, while production expands. But it is not possible to maintain economic health if all prices continue to go up indefinitely, or indeed if certain disparities among prices are not corrected. Some prices ought to come down, or at least to rise less than others.

Decisions of this sort can hardly be left to a series of individual industries, each of which is always likely to think it ought to get more for its product. If a workable interrelationship among prices is to be established, it must be established on the basis of thought concerning the whole economic complex. Whether a comprehensive view of this sort is developed depends upon the President and his industrial-planning and research agency.

Suppose, now, the decision has been reached that a certain industry ought to reduce its prices instead of raising them. Its profits may be exorbitant. Or, if they are not, it may be believed that a lower price would bring a larger volume of business. Does this bill give control over prices such that they may be lowered? It is conceivable that the President might bring about a reduction of prices to a level warranted by the unit costs of the more efficient concerns. He is authorized to protect the interest of consumers, to require full accounting and other information. If there were in the industry any important competitor who wanted to attract custom by lower prices, and could do so without reducing labor standards below a desirable level, the President might make his influence effective by suspending or failing to sanction any code which would interfere with that competitor's freedom of action. Failing that, the licensing system might be used to compel reduction of prices on the part of recalcitrants.

Clearly, here is a bill which gives private industry a chance to see what it can do to improve the economic system with the aid of the research and police power of the government and of potential collective bargaining by labor. It establishes the minimum essentials with which it may be safe to concede to industry exemption from anti-trust laws. Its success, if enacted, will depend almost wholly on the way in which it is applied by government, industry and labor. Emphasis of the national as opposed to the narrow industrial interest, rigorous protection of wage earners and consumers, great skill in research, planning and administration will be required. The result may be merely a series of cartels and price-valorization schemes which among them will do nothing more than restrict the output of goods upon which an improved standard of living depends, which will no more improve our economic institutions than have the cartels in Germany. Or, conceivably, it may mark the beginning not merely of recovery but of a collectivization of the economic system.

One thing is certain. This is the acknowledged and legalized end of laissez-faire. The two-year limitation may put an end to this specific law, but it will not put an end to the institutions which will spring up under it if it is enacted. We are now about to be committed to national economic planning and control. Future struggles will not concern the question whether we are to have a system regulated automatically by "economic laws," or a system consciously administered. They will concern the immensely important questions of what kind of planning we shall have, what objectives it shall seek, what instruments it shall use and what classes shall control it.

A Breathing Space for Europe

A WEEK ago, there was talk of immediate war in Europe. Now all is sunshine, calm and unanimity. Mussolini has brought the four Great Powers of Europe together in his new, revised "Peace Club" treaty. Mr. Roosevelt, speaking through Mr. Norman H. Davis, has declared that neutrality is dead, and that America is now prepared to defend the peace of the world.

It does not need great perspicuity to recognize that the present jubilation is as exaggerated as were last week's fears. It is completely improbable that Mr. Roosevelt's proposals will cause France, or any of the other nations at the Disarmament Conference, to lay aside a single carbine. Precisely the same offer was made to France by Mr. Davis a month ago, although without publicity, during the debates in the Security Committee of the Conference. It totally failed to move the French then. After they have expressed their polite admiration for Mr. Roosevelt, they are certain to remain unmoved now. No offer which permits the United States Senate to decide what we will do in each case of threatened war can ever conceivably persuade France to lay aside its armaments.

Nevertheless, although Europe does not fear an immediate conflict, the shadow of eventual war stands blackly over Geneva. Beneath every utterance of the French delegation is the barely disguised preoccupation: "How can we solidify and make permanent our present entente with England?" and "How can we gain the popular sympathy of America?" Implicit in everything said by Germany's representative, Herr Nadolny, is the anxious inquiry: "How can England and America be kept neutral?"

Three weeks ago, the French thought they had isolated Germany. They believed they had a chance

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to pillory Germany as responsible for the failure of the Conference, and as a fomenter of war. Hitler's Reichstag speech, with its genial acceptance of Mr. Roosevelt's new, somewhat sophomoric non-aggression pact, temporarily saved Germany. Now, with the conclusion of Mussolini's four-power "Peace Club" agreement, the Conference has achieved a short breathing spell. But nothing seems more certain than that it will face fresh, more dangerous crises in the near future.

Looking back over the Disarmament Conference, it is possible to distinguish four separate periods in its deliberations. Taken together, these four periods explain very clearly why Europe is now afraid of war. The Disarmament Conference opened in February, 1932. Its first period, from February until the following June, was a period of uncertainty. The French were in the midst of their quadrennial elections. In Germany, the position of Chancellor Brüning was notoriously insecure, and towards the end of this period, he was succeeded in office by von Papen and his Cabinet of Junkers.

The Disarmament Conference did not come to life until, early in June, the reparations conference opened at Lausanne. Throughout June and the first part of July, parallel negotiations were conducted at Lausanne and Geneva. This was the second period of the Disarmament Conference, and it was brief and violent. An attempt was made to draft an agreement without conceding anything whatever to Germany's demand for equality and, on July 20, the German delegation angrily stormed out of the Conference.

The Germans declared they had been wantonly deceived. Their story was that, in return for their agreeing at Lausanne to make a final reparations payment of 3,000 million marks, Ramsay MacDonald had promised to support their claim for armament equality at Geneva. They hinted that they possessed a written memorandum of a meeting between MacDonald and von Papen at Lausanne at which this promise had been given. The French were immensely upset, and asserted that MacDonald had made directly contrary pledges to Herriot. Sir John Simon undertook to placate the French by addressing a suspiciously angry note to Berlin, in which he declared England would never countenance Germany's rearmament.

How to apportion the blame for this episode will not concern us. For us, the important thing is that it proved the greatly celebrated Lausanne agreement not to be a real agreement at all. It confirmed the rumor that France and Germany had been unable to negotiate directly, and had talked only through England. It showed that France and Germany, while filled with distrust of each other, likewise lacked confidence in England. Finally, it suggested that the Tory government of England, if forced to it, would take the side of France.

The third period of the Disarmament Conference culminated in the so-called Geneva Declaration, signed by England, France, Germany and Italy at Geneva on December 11. It stated that one of the objectives of the Disarmament Conference should be the grant to Germany of "equality of rights in a system which would provide security for all nations." Probably chief credit for the Geneva agreement should go to Mr. Norman H. Davis. European foreign offices had been thoroughly alarmed by Germany's withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference, and they were willing to listen to Mr. Davis's words. In addition, Mr. Davis had the entire confidence of both the British and Germans, and in M. Herriot he had a warm, personal admirer.

It is important to notice the character of the Geneva Declaration. It did not make peace between France and Germany. What it did, essentially, was to offer France and Germany a kind of truce, during which they might discuss their outstanding disputes and try to settle them.

The argument presented to Germany, in effect, was: "You, Germany, are not financially strong enough to challenge France to an armament race. France today can outbuild you in war planes, tanks and heavy guns. Furthermore, France and its allies might use your rearmament as an excuse to attack you at once, while you are still weak. You had better wait five years or so."

The argument to France was: "You, France, cannot hope to keep Germany in a position of inequality forever. But each year the present regime in Europe becomes more settled and harder for Germany to upset. This truce offers you another five years of grace."

The fourth period of the Disarmament Conference extends from last December up to the present. It began with the prompt and relentless sabotaging of the Geneva Declaration. M. Herriot, the one French bourgeois leader who believes in peace with Germany, was overthrown on the American war-debt issue almost at the instant the Geneva Declaration was signed. Immediately thereafter, Jugoslavia, presumably at the instigation of France, began a campaign of pinpricks against Italy, Germany's ally. About the same time, in the so-called Hirtenberg affair, it was demonstrated that Italy was supplying arms to Hungary, one of the supposedly disarmed powers. Then in March, with the eager concurrence of Germany, Mussolini brought forward his original "Peace Club" project. This was aimed exclusively at revising Europe's frontiers, although in the Geneva Declaration it was implicitly agreed that all territorial questions would be shelved for the period of the Disarmament Conference. Poland and the Little Entente at once became united in desperate opposition to any "weakness" towards Germany. Meanwhile Hitler's "cold pogrom" of the Jews in Germany had begun to horrify and revolt people in England and America, and M. Paul-Boncour, sensing a favorable opportunity, had announced that France would lead a crusade to drive the Hitler government from Germany.

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In the present emasculated "Peace Club" agreement, Mussolini's original plan for revising Europe's frontiers has been reduced to a set of meaningless and contradictory phrases. The "Peace Club" agreement is now no more than an attempt to reëstablish the European truce provided in last December's Geneva declaration. A truce, however, is a fragile thing; it cannot survive much mishandling. The governments of England and France now heartily distrust Germany, and Germany reciprocates this distrust. No agreement among England, France and Germany which will have any permanence or importance seems at all possible.

This is not to say that a European war, at the present time, appears likely. There will need to be months, and perhaps years, of the present uneasy terror which fills Europe before the common people of England, France and Germany have been worked up to the requisite paroxysm of fear in which they are ready to go forth to fight and kill each other.

Finally, what have we in America to do with all this? What possible meaning is there in the well intentioned demand that America assume the "obligations and burdens of peace"? Powerful as we are, great as is our navy and valiant as are our young men, we cannot single-handedly impose peace on Europe, as we might on the Central American republics. We can only coöperate with whatever governments actually exist in Europe. With which one of the present governments of Europe, save that of Soviet Russia, can we today profitably cooperate? Does anyone believe that by agreeing to fight once more in a European war, we shall succeed in bringing about world peace?

A Few Gleams of Light

EACH YEAR the American Civil Liberties Union issues a survey of the attitude of federal and state governments toward civil rights in this country. In the past this report has usually made as dismal reading as one could find outside the literature of a disillusioned young novelist. It is therefore pleasant to record that ever since the new administration moved into the White House there has been a definite decline in acts of suppression and intolerance throughout the country.

For the first time in years, the Union reports that no one in any state or colony is serving a sentence under the notorious criminal-syndicalism or sedition laws. Moreover, no such cases are pending in the two states—California and Pennsylvania—where these laws are the most drastic. The only syndicalism cases awaiting trial are in Ohio and Illinois, where the striking miners are being ruthlessly suppressed, and in Michigan and Iowa, where the embattled farmers, fighting foreclosure sales, have been made the victims of anti-Red legislation.

Some of the other bright spots in the picture have been the granting of a new trial to Tom Mooney, the reversal by the United States Supreme Court of the original Scottsboro convictions, the release of the last political prisoners in Pennsylvania and California, the dismissal of all criminal-syndicalism cases in Kentucky, the publication of the Wickersham report on the Mooney-Billings case and the imprisonment of fifteen Klansmen in California for mobbing a radical gathering.

However, all is not sweetness and light, and in an effort to warn us against becoming too complacent over our new era of civil and political liberty, the Civil Liberties Union reminds us that in certain localized districts throughout the country the suppression of radicals has been carried on with more than customary ruthlessness. Miners in Illinois have been shot down in cold blood by the state militia, the Chicago police have been particularly brutal in their treatment of radicals, the notorious Red Squad of Los Angeles has, with no semblance of legality, broken up meetings, professors in various colleges throughout the country have been dismissed for their political convictions, lynchings still take place in the South with little or no attempt to apprehend the lynchers, and some of our more famous political prisoners—Mooney and Billings, the Scottsboro boys, the Centralia Wobblies—still remain victims of class and racial intolerance.

Nevertheless, the report shows that since the advent of the Roosevelt administration there has been a definite tendency toward political and economic tolerance. That this tolerance is due in large measure to the present administration's liberal policy there is little doubt. However, there is also little doubt that the powers of conservatism, of intolerance, of repression, have been partly dissipated by the threat of a complete collapse of our economic system. At least temporarily, they are too badly frightened by the dangers of their own position to indulge in their usual activities in the way of suppressing their enemies. It may even be that they are a little less cocksure than formerly about the glories of that perfect system of capitalism which they were wont to extol, and which has lately proved itself so dismally incompetent to achieve the results they have attributed to it.

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The Future of British Socialism

THE COLLAPSE of Socialism in Germany and the destruction of its elaborate political and industrial organizations is one of the gravest events of our time, but it is not the easiest to estimate and digest. Though one had seen it for a year as a probability that drew steadily nearer, it took the German workers by surprise and paralyzed their capacity to resist. Small wonder then that their neighbors are even less able to grasp it and that their response to it shows neither unanimity nor originality. Is it merely a local event which one may dismiss as the outcome of the peculiar German conditions? Or does it obliterate the whole Marxist conception of the inevitable march of history and the destiny of the working class? This is the oldest, the biggest and the most highly organized body of the European proletariat that has gone under without a struggle: in going, moreover, it has torn a gap in the international formation of Socialism so wide that as a continental influence it has virtually ceased to exist. The moral would be easier to draw if German Communism had come any better out of the test, but it, too, was led passive to the shambles.

What has actually happened does not fit the Marxist scheme of history. The lower strata of the middle class have displayed the revolutionary energy that the workers lacked. One may feel contempt and even loathing for the whole phenomenon, which alike in the unprovoked cruelty of its terror and its degradation of all cultural values reveals human nature at its worst. It lacks alike the intellectual ferment of the French and the heroic, creative energy of the Russian revolution. Yet one must take it seriously. It has transformed, though it be wholly for the worse, the entire public life of a great nation, and it has smashed the liberal dream of a gradual pacific advance from competitive nationalism to international organization. It means eclipse at Geneva and a setback for Moscow. One asks whether it also means that the belief which gradualist socialists vaguely shared with dogmatic Marxists—that the workers are destined to succeed the middle class as the inheritors of power and the shapers of history—is itself a delusion. There is, indeed, another possibility—that we are witnessing the collapse, not so much of Socialism as of European civilization.

Parties and masses of men do not concern themselves with the less visible causes and consequences of events that stir them, at all events in England. Stirred the British Labor movement certainly was. It shared the general anger at the persecution of the Jews, but it also realized—what others forgot—the agony and defeat of a party linked to it by close ties. The reaction of the main body through its officials was a little disconcerting in its ultra-simplicity. It drew a single moral from a very complex event, and drove it home in a manifesto intended to set the tone at meetings and demonstrations held all over the country. This manifesto emphasized democracy, repudiated any thought of abandoning it under any circumstances, called on the workers to rally to its defense and denounced with almost equal vehemence the Communists and the Nazi-Fascists who have destroyed it abroad and threaten it at home. It was an orthodox liberal manifesto which showed hardly a trace of Socialist thinking.

As a commentary on events in Germany it was not impressive; it ignored too many aspects of the problem. It forgot, to begin with, that democracy, equipped with all the latest gadgets of proportional representation and the like, had broken down as a workable system of government some time before the Nazis were ready to seize power. Again, the most singular part of the story is that the Nazis had behind them a bare majority of the electorate. Albeit with a total lack of scruple, they did play the democratic game according to the rules. They had a "mandate" for what they did. This stress upon democracy in no way helped us to answer the more troublesome questions that beset us. Was not the ultra-liberal tolerance of this Republic largely to blame, which respected the right of association so scrupulously that it allowed the formation of party-armies? Those of us who try to study this event realistically suspect that the German Socialists and liberals trusted all too loyally to the paper-safeguards of democracy. They created a perfect voting apparatus, but left the Junker squires in command of wide acres and of the men who till them; they put the younger sons and brothers of this class in command of the military machine; they left heavy industry under the "chimney-stack" barons who used their profits to hire Hitler's talent for effective but costly propaganda. Real power at all the strategical points—land ownership, arms and wealth—was left to the enemies of democracy, and therefore democracy went under. Given this distribution of power and an economic crisis so acute that men will fight for jobs and bread, is it reasonable to suppose that democracy can survive?

Strip this event of all the incredible superstructure of mysticism and sentimentality that the Teutonic imagination can always erect, and does it amount to more than this? In a country where there are 7 million jobs too few, the available jobs have gone to the group which managed to seize them (1) because it had discipline and arms; (2) because the Junker-led army would not fire on it, and (3) because it could pay for effective propaganda. It

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got the money of the coal and iron barons because it could be trusted to destroy the labor unions. In all this, democracy is merely irrelevant. Indeed, if you look more closely into the matter, the case is worse. Democracy was an invaluable ally to the Nazis. It placed the mirage of legal sovereignty in the hands of that 51.7 percent of the nation which is so stupid that it could be deceived by the sham of the Reichstag conflagration and so childish that it could be won by brown uniforms and illiterate radio oratory.

No one in England ventured on any commentary quite so disturbing as this. It was, however, implicit in the response of the Independent Labor party. It formed a fighting alliance with the Communists to combat Fascism, and invited the Labor party to join it. Its reasoning was simple enough. It saw the reality of the class conflict under the German event, where more superficial people saw only inflamed nationalism and anti-Semitic prejudice. It perceived that this conflict should have ended otherwise, if the 7 million Socialist and 5 million Communist electors had all along formed a solid phalanx. It wished to avoid a similar tragedy in its own country. Silently rebuffed by the Labor party, it went on at its Easter conference to propose habitual "coöperation" not merely with the British Communist party, but also with the Third International, though for affiliation and the discipline of Moscow it is not yet ready. It used in its public pronouncements vaguely revolutionary language, and made it clear that it has ceased to believe that socialism can be won by parliamentary methods. Moscow promptly welcomed its overture, and invited negotiations.

This reasoning, whatever bearing it may have on the German situation, has singularly little relevance to our British problem. Whereas the German Communists had a hundred, and even after the Reichstag conflagration eighty members in Parliament, the British party has not even one. Not much is to be gained in weight or numbers by coöperating with it. Here, as elsewhere, it has the unpleasant habit of using a common platform only to abuse and traduce its allies. Fascists in this country are as yet a negligible quantity, nor do they seem to be growing; in fact Hitler's excesses have made them intensely unpopular. But the tactics of street demonstrations, which seem to mean street fighting, recommended by the Communists, might in time change the outlook. In the name of order the middle class would rally against Communist turbulence. It would see the use of Fascists and might in its turn foster them, though doubtless on lines somewhat different from the German and Italian patterns. Reasoning in this way, the British Labor party was even less inclined, after the German event, to consider the "common front" than it has been before it. In one sense the question has no importance. The Labor party has over 600,000 individual members, and behind it are the three to four millions of the Labor unions: the Communists are a mere 5,000. Morally, however, the question is all-important. By refusing coöperation, the Labor party proclaims that it is content with a democratic advance.

The destiny of the Independent Labor party is now fairly clear. It cannot justify its separate existence. It has shed both its pacifism and its faith in democracy. Nothing separates it from the Communists save a doubt in the invariable wisdom of Muscovite leadership. Yet if it habitually "coöperates" with Moscow, must it not suffer all the inconveniences of this unwisdom? It shed a third of its membership when it disaffiliated from the Labor party. It is suffering further losses since its Easter conference—notably "Dick" Wallhead, one of its four remaining members of Parliament, a veteran typical of its older tradition. Its one asset is the romantic personality of James Maxton—a leader with a rare gift of emotional and dramatic self-expression, but too impulsive to be either an effective strategist or a painstaking organizer. With all his fire, he cannot melt the massive power that he has challenged —call it, as you please, inertia or common sense. The I.L.P. in isolation has ceased to matter: it is no longer even a useful gadfly busy upon the slow bulk of the Labor party. It fades slowly from the scene, destined to further splits and defections. Half of it will eventually merge with the Communists: the rest can escape extinction only by returning to the fold of the Labor party.

How, then, must one read the future of this Labor party? Its instinct, which bids it stick to democracy, is, I think, sound, though its reasoning can be questioned by ingenious persons. This British nation is incorrigibly traditional. It follows precedent, as Macaulay pointed out, even in its revolutions. It is probable enough that Fascism will grow, if and when the middle class believes that it stands in real danger from the advance of Socialism. But the hopeful way to combat Fascism is to do it from the vantage ground of a parliamentary majority with legality on one's side. A sagacious Socialist party would hope to deal with a British Hitler (whose name will spell something more like Churchill than Mosley) as the seventeenth-century Parliament dealt with a Stuart.

So far one may agree with the Social Democracy of the Labor party. It has in England a tradition, a historical memory, that Germany lacked. It does, moreover, "mean business" since Mr. MacDonald left it, as the Germans never did. Its mind is set upon a rapid transition to a socialist society, and it is working out its plans for taking over the key industries with method and concentration. It must, if and when it gets a majority, make the attempt. It even talks of emergency powers and the speeding-up of the legislative machine by a procedure in comparison with which even Mr. Roosevelt's record looks modest. It has ceased in its conferences and its programs to elaborate reformist measures: its con-

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scious will is to grasp economic power and ownership for the community.

Three doubts cloud my mind as I watch it. It throws up no dynamic leaders. It is pitiably loyal to elderly commonplace men, who would be, in any emergency that called for unusual action, as helpless as the Germans were. Second, though Socialists and even Communists are fairly numerous at the universities, the mass of the professional class remains aloof, hostile, uncomprehending. The problem of mobilizing the trained intelligence of the nation for an effort of fundamental change has not been faced. Third, the party is not using its massive, if old-fashioned, apparatus of propaganda to prepare the manual workers themselves for fundamental change. It fights by-elections on the minor issues of the moment. Its daily paper takes no longer view. On these conventional lines it may, three or eight years hence, get a majority against the Tories, a majority tired of economy, bad housing and irritating tariffs. But this will not be a majority for Socialism, and when the middle class calls up its reserves for resistance this majority will evaporate. It is admirable to keep one's faith in democracy, but faith alone will not carry it through the supreme test of a social transformation.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

London.

Women without Work

UNTIL recently, when on the advice of the Welfare Council the sponsors of eighty New York City breadlines substituted less spectacular activities for public feeding, long twisted streamers of men waited patiently or filed slowly before small booths where they were given coffee and bread or sandwiches twice a day. Before the hand-outs began you saw them lounging about, sometimes chatting with each other, sometimes reading newspapers picked up from park benches. But most of them just sat or stood, doing nothing —young men among the old panhandlers, good clothes among the rags, a mixture of men from nearly all classes. Always men. Where were the women? A breadline hand-out is poor fare, but it is better than none; yet the women who must certainly be in want, like their brothers, were never seen in those lines.

The old ladies who sell boot-laces and buttons are still at their stands at the "El" stations and subway entrances, and the practised feminine panhandler is thinking of new ways to get along, now that her field is becoming too crowded. It is the great mass of the younger educated women, the newly destitute, that remains a mystery. Where do they go?

No one can tell with any degree of accuracy how many women are included in that body of floating population known to the social worker as the "unattached." An unattached woman is one with no family or friend near enough to be of any practical aid. In New York, most families are not likely to be able to offer lodgings to non-paying relatives; they are crowded into small apartments with no extra room for maiden aunts. There is no one of the many social agencies of New York whose special business it is to relieve or aid the lone woman of more than twenty-one.

When the slump started three years ago, it was probably the Y.W.C.A. that first got the onrush of the white-collar girls who had lost their jobs. Now the family welfare societies have taken on the bulk of the number. None of the agencies has as yet compiled separate statistics of unemployed women who have applied to it; the last census reported one hundred thousand unattached *persons* in the city, but no one knows how many of these are women in actual want.

There are many women, no doubt, who struggle along until the last possible moment. Social investigators are almost of a mind that the unemployed woman of the new type is much more reluctant to apply for aid at a public charity than is her brother in similar circumstances. She tries everything else first, for the doctrine of Success has taken strong hold of the public mind, and to admit failure is still the greatest shame of all. She lives as long as possible on her savings, trying all the time to find more work and going without enough food to save money for clothes. Then she turns to her friends —private borrowing is not quite so shameful—until she becomes too much of a burden. There are girls who for the past few months have risen every morning before dawn, to be first in the lines of applicants for any job that has been advertised, and when the early-morning rush is over and it is too late to hope for success, they must look for a place to sit, to wait until the day is over. That place is not easy to find, particularly in winter. The railroad-station waiting rooms grew so crowded that now they are kept clear by having the "vagrants" turned out every so often. It is not until she is reduced to actual hunger that the white-collar girl at last presents herself at the door of the relief bureaus and charity committees.

Many women apply too late, when their health and sanity have been wrecked by privation and worry. Often they will not admit how penniless they are, even in the act of asking for help. They come in upon any pretext but the truth, and are most difficult to help at first because of it. One of the greatest expenses of the Y.W.C.A., the Salva-

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tion Army, the Y.W.H.A. and the others is to provide psychiatric treatment for women whose minds have weakened under the strain.

The processes of poverty are not the only contributors to those breakdowns; charity itself is not so simple to receive. The limitations of the relief aids' finances and the lack of a well knit plan to deal with the unattached woman—for it has been a sudden growth, this necessity—leads to confusion for the clearing houses. Sometimes when a girl is waiting for something to be done for her, the Central Registration Bureau must make as many as twenty applications before she can be disposed of satisfactorily. This is humiliating and dangerous for her morale; she cannot help but feel hopeless and even more depressed than before. Even though she is at last fed and clothed and lodged, she knows that she has been relentlessly shunted from one place to another, and all to no real purpose beyond relief of immediate necessity. She cannot in reason feel that she has any part in a legitimate struggle for existence.

Homeless, friendless women are much troubled with their belongings; they cannot trudge the streets and look for work if they are burdened by their bundles and suitcases. Some solve the problem by simply deserting their possessions; they move late at night from the rooms for which they cannot pay, leaving everything they own in default of rent money.

Our American chivalry has always been a bit partial. In days of prosperity it was easier for the young pretty woman than for her older competitor, and so it is today. The woman who suffers most is not the picturesque flapper who is pictured so heartbreakingly and effectively in charity drives, but the business woman of thirty-five or more, who has held responsible positions and is now facing not only the crisis of unemployment, but the task of catching on later, when the younger women will be back in the battle. She is a new factor in the old set-up of reconstruction, for in the past before she and her kind were emancipated she would have been someone's poor relation, doing the dull jobs around the house and in hard times entitled to whatever protection her people could give. Now she is a has-been with the memory of past success to render her less malleable, less easily placed, and more alone.

As a rule the younger girls instinctively band together; they find friends, other girls like themselves, who are still resilient and hardy. Sometimes a group of them find it possible to struggle along in a small apartment, carrying each other by means of a community fund. Social workers tell of four salesgirls in a lodging house, sharing one kitchenette and eating two meals a day—meals easily prepared, for they consisted almost invariably of coffee, bread and bananas, these latter measured out by the inch and divided scrupulously. They used candle instead of electric light. When at last they were forced to apply for relief at the Bureau they held a council to decide which of them should go, settling at last upon the girl who had the best clothes and could still make a good showing.

One girl lost her job because she didn't look needy enough; she still had the clothes of her forty-dollar period, and her employer thought it had a bad effect on the other girls. He was exceptionally old-fashioned, however. Most employers are quite accustomed by this time to fur coats, smart hats and pretty dresses on the women who clamor at their office doors for fifteen-dollar positions. The average New York woman will do without almost anything before she lets her appearance suffer; carfare, lunch, any sort of entertainment—one can get along without them, but one must have a decent pair of stockings. It's not vanity; it's business instinct. It is the result of at least twenty years' teaching that the well dressed girl gets the job.

The old movie-and-fiction idea that the poor girl can at least keep alive by selling her honor has been pretty well disproved. Actually it's not so easy as it sounds—for very practical reasons. Like many other professions, it depends directly upon general prosperity; it is a product of luxury times. Now that everyone is poor, those few girls who decided at last to make the "supreme sacrifice" have found the field overcrowded. Even the professional has lowered her rates to a degree where any other expedient is far preferable, even with all sentimental considerations left out.

Certainly at the moment there are far too many trained women for every type of work. The business colleges have gone on turning out typists, file-clerks and accountants at an increasing rate of speed, though new labor-saving office machinery is always being invented. The untrained factory worker has lost her high social position in comparison with the housemaids and cooks who used to demand enormous wages in compensation for their menial tasks. Many women are now going into jobs as cooks or maids at ridiculously low wages, for the advantage of a place to live and the certainty of regular meals. At least one college-bred woman is in New Jersey now, earning six dollars a week as a cook.

These heretofore independent women must be kept as long as possible, say the social workers, from feeling that they are receiving out-and-out doles. The placement bureaus work overtime to arrange occupations for them, fit them to suitable jobs for which they have been trained, by splitting up the available work and salaries at non-competitive organizations.

The Travelers' Aid Society compiled a list of applicants during a month last winter: the occupations of these women were in part as follows: domestics, needle workers, practical nurses, clerks, hotel and restaurant workers, saleswomen. When the Work Bureau can, it places such women in permanent positions: when it cannot it makes work

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for them. The latter procedure is useless as a permanent measure, of course, in that it is a vicious circle—making jobs for people by giving them the opportunity to work at making more jobs for more people. On this scale the whole system becomes absurd.

A year ago the Welfare Council took steps to discourage the flood of young women who come to New York looking for work. Its Room Registries Section published a warning: "Girls, stay away from New York if you are out of work and have much less than $25 a week to live on." They still come, however, as business in other cities and in small towns slows up. It isn't quite so simple as it sometimes appears in the columns of the newspapers. It's not a matter of great soup-kitchens and dormitories; that is not the way to settle it.

Half-time jobs. Temporary jobs. Free meals in restaurants that have come to the fore and offered their left-over food. Free rooms in hotels that cannot fill themselves otherwise. Failing these makeshift devices, emptiness lies before the woman who has no claim on the relief usually afforded the deserving "case," the unwed mother or the blind and decrepit. So far, the unattached woman has got the leavings, not only of charity. Even now, when it would seem they had reached rock-bottom, the greater number of these homeless drifters have not come to public attention. One by one they give up, slowly and reluctantly, or they go too far even to give up, like the fifty-year-old woman who confessed:

"I had $60, but I spent it. I didn't even try to save it. I thought perhaps God would be good to me and let me die."

EMILY HAHN.

Panaceas for the Depression

V: *The Douglas Social Credit Plan*

MAJOR C. H. DOUGLAS, the English engineer-economist of the Social Credit proposals, has been the center of various controversies in London, but he remains, in spite of a New Economics Group organized in New York to proselytize his ideas, an enigma to Americans. Bets were laid some months ago that Social Credit would seize the tottering throne of Technocracy, but the exciting talk kicked up by the Roosevelt administration, whether it will mean anything ultimately or not, has for the moment killed interest in strange lures to the Land of Plenty. Meanwhile, the American followers of Douglas meet weekly, read the Douglas books (or such of them as are obtainable in the United States), take A. R. Orage's New English Weekly, a Social Credit organ, and occasionally place an "introduction to Douglas" in a magazine. Douglas ideas have percolated somewhat, and it is even rumored that a member of the Roosevelt "brain trust" regards them favorably.

Who, then, is Major Douglas, and what does Social Credit mean? The man himself is a Cambridge graduate, an engineer whose inventions have yielded him independent means in royalty payments. During the War he was an assistant director of the Royal Aircraft Works. He has been called, variously, "Third, and greatest, in the line of great economists that includes Adam Smith and Karl Marx," and a mere hanger-on in "the underworld of economics." Some see in Social Credit the beginnings of a great society that shall preserve individual economic freedom and yet abolish want. Others speak of the "good Major" deprecatingly. The Marxists laugh at him; the Keyneses ignore him. Yet his ideas have power; they have elected sixteen Social Credit members to the New Zealand parliament, and in Australia the Social Credit movement is said to have more than a hundred thousand supporters. President de Valera of the Irish Free State is reputed by Mr. Orage to have a thorough understanding of the principles of Social Credit. An idea of the appeal latent in Douglas may be gauged by Alfred Bingham's admiring, though possibly incredulous, remark, "This Social Credit scheme seems to combine the best features of the dole and a perpetual bull market."

Judged broadly, Douglas is one of the economists who see, quite rightly, that capitalism is failing because of lack of markets. Consumer buying power doesn't keep pace either with actual production, or potentiality of production. Effective demand—demand backed by hard cash—cannot, under the price system as it operates in a world of failing gold mines, disappearing frontiers and greedy investment bankers, shoot skyward with stock markets into perpetual New Eras. The Marxists foresaw this long ago. In the twenties, in America, various people began to get it through their heads that labor was also the customer, and that too much saving for investment purposes might be an unmitigated evil. William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings, E. A. Filene, Stuart Chase, Henry Ford, the Technocrats—all of these have circled around the problem. In England, J. A. Hobson has made it the keystone of his economic arch.

Douglas, however, rejects the Marxist explanation of the failure of effective demand. The Marxists insist that depression comes when too much money is drained out of spending for consumers'

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goods into the securities market for investment in capital goods. Anarchy of production, they call it. The result of this drain is an increase in plant, but a decrease in the buying power necessary to take the goods of all plants, both old and new. The decrease in commodity sales is felt in diminishing returns to stockholders, who hasten to sell. A rush to sell may, in turn, lead to an October, 1929. While many orthodox economists do not accept this Marxian explanation of crises, a number who still scoff generally at the name of Marx have come to accept this specific bit of Marxian analysis. Others say that a modification of the Marxian theory pertains: that the flow of money into wages and other sources of effective consumer demand does not always keep pace with the flow of money into production of capital goods or into brokers' loans for gambling purposes. When the flow of money into the two is out of line, with savings outdistancing spendings, crisis, always endemic in capitalism, becomes epidemic.

The Douglas theory, however, is that it is impossible ever to sell all the commodities that are produced, or that can be produced, simply because the income to buy them doesn't exist. Douglas makes this a hard and fast rule, no matter what the relation of savings to spendings. Prices, he says, cannot normally be less than cost plus profit. But not everything that goes into the pricing of goods is available to buy the goods and take them off the market. To explain the deficiency in buying power, Major Douglas invokes his famous "A plus B" theorem, which, according to Douglas disciples, has "never been refuted."

A, under the Douglas theorem, represents money disbursed as payment to individuals in wages, salaries and dividends. These A payments, of course, go into the pricing of goods. But there remain B payments—"external costs," Douglas calls them, in contradistinction to the "internal costs" of wages, salaries and dividends—which are bank charges, taxes, money for raw materials. These also enter into price. The flow of price is thus represented by A plus B. But, under the Douglas scheme of reasoning, only A is available to buy the product priced at A plus B. The money spent on factory account, overhead charges and purchase of raw materials, though going into cost and price, is not available for buying the commodities.

This, then, is the analytical side of Douglas. The constructive proposals—the Just Price and Social Credit—seem to me not necessarily to depend on the truth or falsity of the A plus B theorem. After all, if there is a difference—as there often is a difference—between the total amount of money going into cost of production and the total amount going into spending for consumption, a government possessing the will *and the necessary police power to make the will effective* could subtract C (total consumption costs) from P (total production costs), order retailers to sell the total stock of goods instead of only a portion of them for C, and then reimburse the retailer from whatever he is out of pocket. The retailer could then settle with the wholesaler. It is this aspect of the Douglas system that caused Mr. Bingham to remark that it combined the best features of the dole and the perpetual bull market. In reality, it subsidizes perpetual price cutting. Those purchasing consumers' goods would suddenly find themselves getting more for their total money income at the Just Price, and the Social Credit granted the retailers would amount to so much inflation of the currency. Tied up with a national banking system which had been renovated so as to permit only the government itself to create and destroy money (private bankers, under Douglasism, would only be permitted to lend dollar for dollar, or up to the limit of the paid-in share capital and reserves of the private banks), this sort of price-fixing and inflation is not impossible. Provided, always, that the state could command, and get its will obeyed.

The proposal of a National Dividend to all people is another Douglas item that does not depend for its force on the truth or falsity of the A plus B theorem. The Douglasites propose a dividend to every member of the community, the adjustment depending, of course, on the ability of the industrial machine to deliver the goods. This delivery would be based on a National Wealth Account, something along the lines, presumably, of the Energy Survey of the Technocrats. (The dependence on Frederick Soddy's "Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt" is as much a phenomenon of the Douglasite writings as it is of those of the Technocrats, and, indeed, The New English Weekly plumped strongly for the analytical sections of the writings of Howard Scott.)

The joker in the deck, it would seem, is Major Douglas's fond belief that a Just Price, Social Credit and the declaration of a National Dividend at stated intervals would preserve Democracy from running into Fascism or Socialism. The Douglasites envision a peaceful surrender of privileges by bankers and by industrialists. But it is very likely that the Douglas proposals would involve more difficulties than anything suggested, so far, by the Social Planners or by the Fascists or the Marxists. In the first place, Douglas proposes to destroy the psychology that treats money as a commodity, and price as the expression of a proportion of goods to a proportion of gold. Although we have gone a long way from the simple gold psychology of former times, the exchange value of the English pound or the American dollar still depends, to great extent, on the hope of *deferred* payment. Otherwise, why should England be gathering gold today as backing for the pound, or why should Roosevelt put an embargo on gold shipments from the United States?

Without the police power to fix prices and to ordain issues of Social Credit, or to compel acceptance of this Social Credit as so much money, the Douglas system would end as the German infla-

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tion ended. Socialism, to me, seems much less complicated; and the proposals of those advocating National Planning much less calculated to ruffle existing psychologies. After all, the Russian system, with its scheme of price controls and rationing, is a simpler bookkeeping matter than the Cost Accountancy contemplated by Douglas, and the use of the police power in both cases seems necessary. Then why, if one is selecting Utopia, choose the more complicated one? Douglas argues that freedom of movement is preserved under his system; any man can engage in making any goods he wants. But the police must have the right to compel him to rigid accounting, and he must accept the Social Credit necessary to carry goods off the market. If the man in question is of the class that controls the state, what is to prevent him from ditching Social Credit in order to build up his own power at the expense of labor and the consumer in the immemorial fashion? If Major Douglas can solve this problem of power, of getting his scheme enforced by law, he will be doing something which La Follette, Tom Johnson, Henry George and hundreds of other humane and capable men have failed to accomplish.

As for the A plus B theorem, which all Douglas books play up as the analytical background of the Social Credit and Just Price proposals, the immediate reaction of the reader is to say: "Douglas can't really mean what he seems to be saying." For, as J. A. Hobson was possibly the first to point out, it is not true that the bank advances by which business men finance their trade constitute costs which enter final prices. Financial cost which does count in price is the money paid by business men for the temporary use of credit advanced on commercial paper—*i.e.*, interest charges. This bank interest can enter into the flow of purchasing power, even though Douglas sticks it in with the B of his A plus B formula. For, obviously, bank interest goes to bank clerks as wages, to stockholders in the bank as dividends, to presidents and vice-presidents as salaries. It is, thus, just as much a part of current income as money paid out by business men directly as wages. Profits, too, are a part of current income.

As for money spent on raw materials, what on earth is to prevent the recipients of this money from using it themselves to buy back the product of industry, or from passing it on to labor to use in purchasing the goods? And what does the government do with taxes but spend them in wages, salaries and dividends to bondholders?

The Douglasites who contend that a manufacturer who has borrowed at the bank, not being the owner of the cash, is compelled to pay not only interest, but the body of the loan, out of the price he gets for his goods, meet with a ready answer from Hobson. Since the business of the bank is to make credit advances for profit, the repayment of the loan, plus interest, enables the bank to make another advance to the same manufacturer, or to some other customer. Whoever gets this credit will, of course, use it to pay wages, salaries and dividends to those involved in the production of raw materials, plant, and so on, and the recipients of the money can apply it to the purchase of goods which Major Douglas says must remain unbought because of the necessity to repay the bank loan as well as the interest on it. If the *flow* of credit is kept up, Douglas has no place to get a hand-hold on the system by which to lift his A plus B formula into any deserved prominence. Of course, there are often major dislocations in the flow of credit, and periodic insufficiency of buying power in the system to take goods off the market, but the answer, one hazards, is to be found in too zealous saving by *all* people, whether they make their money out of wages, salaries or dividends grouped by Douglas under A, or whether they get their income from bank charges, sale of raw materials or from the government, all of which Douglas lists under B. Douglas, it would seem, has not learned his A-B-C's.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

This is the final article in Mr. Chamberlain's series on remedies proposed to end the depression. —THE EDITORS.

Washington Notes

Sending Congress Home—War Debts and Glass Bill—Baruch as Warwick—The Ickes Group—Can London Succeed?

AT THE moment of writing, the idea of the inner White House circle, whose members have been potent in the preparation and pushing through of the Roosevelt program, is to get Congress out of Washington. Upon that the efforts of the administration are being concentrated. It is an intelligent purpose and is likely to be realized fairly close to the June 10 date which they have in mind. From the administration point of view the argument for speedy adjournment is clear and convincing. Briefly, here it is: Mr. Roosevelt, in a little less than three months, has succeeded in enacting a series of measures of unprecedented scope and importance. They embark the country upon great experiments, the objectives of which are generally commended, even though there is considerable doubt as to the methods and the outcome. The factor of overwhelming importance in these new laws is the power given the executive. Almost unlimited authority is granted him to operate the nation in practically every field—agriculture, industry, transportation, finance, economy and expenditures.

The problem is now purely administrative. Upon the wisdom, skill and vigor with which the authority now vested in the executive branch is exercised, the future of the administration and the country largely depends. Grasping this fundamental fact, the earnest wish of the inner circle is to organize and operate. What the presidential group wants to do now is sit down in relative quiet and work things out. It is an enormous job to put these great schemes

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into operation. Their scope is such as not only to bewilder the legislators who put them through, but some of their authors, sponsors and godparents as well. Until Congress adjourns, it is difficult to concentrate upon the initial organization and inauguration. Yet upon these the whole thing hinges, and hence the drive to end the session. In furtherance of this, the administration is doing what can be done to eliminate controversial matters which tend to prolong debate and postpone action.

It now seems settled that Mr. Roosevelt will not ask Congress to give him a free hand to negotiate the war debts, but will try to meet that problem handicapped by the congressional prohibition which was attached to the Hoover moratorium and is still in force. It is believed by most of his friends that, had he asked negotiating authority, he could have had it despite the congressional opposition and the statements from the Hearst Senators that it would never be granted. It would, however, have necessitated a direct appeal to the people by the President. It would have required him to exert his full strength to overcome the resistance, and undoubtedly it would have caused a long and bitter debate. Other ways of handling the situation, it is hinted, exist, and will be made use of, though it is a little hard to know exactly what they are, or to believe that the chances of the London Conference are not impaired by the fact that no lessening of the rigidity of our debt attitude has been sought.

It is also true that the administration support of the Glass banking bill appears to have been withdrawn, which would seem to mean that that measure will not go through this session. This has broken the hearts of its supporters, though there are many people who take the news with indifference, believing that a much more drastic reorganization of banking is desirable and can be accomplished at the next session. The lukewarmness of the White House toward the Glass bill is due not only to desire not to delay adjournment, but also to a strong distaste for the insurance of deposit feature, among other things, upon the part of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Budget Director and one or two other fiscal officials, including, I am told, the Honorable Jesse Jones of Texas, who now dominates the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Speaking of Mr. Jones, the new R.F.C. chairman, there is a rather noticeable lack of enthusiasm over either his elevation or his methods. On the contrary, some of the Jonesian policies appear to those in closest touch with the Board's operation neither warranted nor sound. It is, for instance, a little difficult to understand why he so rigidly opposes the use of any R.F.C. funds for housing, particularly when, as a large real-estate operator both in Texas and New York, he must be aware of conditions and can hardly help but know how desirable is federal aid. However, Mr. Jones, hard-boiled as he is in business, may find that he is making a mistake. There are one or two gentlemen here who are determined to convince him of that fact.

In connection with other recent and important Roosevelt appointments it is, I think, interesting to note what seems to have been largely overlooked in the press comments, that the two most powerful positions in the whole administration have gone to proteges of Mr. B. M. Baruch. I refer, of course, to Mr. George Peek, the new Farm Administrator, and to Mr. Hugh Johnson, who will probably be the new so-called "Tsar" of industry provided for in the great public-works bill now pending. I do not think it is exaggerating to say that the first allegiance of the Messrs. Peek and Johnson is to Mr. Baruch. They were both with him on the War Industries Board and have kept in close touch with him ever since. That he will have more influence on both of them than any other individual may be accepted as certain. And when one considers that these two men have more authority over a wider field than all the Cabinet combined—more, in fact, than any other peacetime officials in the history of the United States, their closeness to the New York financier is worth mentioning. It seems to make rather ridiculous the idea advanced some time ago that he was not in tune with the administration program, and had been more or less edged out of the consultative circle. If he was out, he has been taken back in.

These two new positions, and some others created by the "new deal," are so much more powerful than any in the Cabinet that the Cabinet members are to a considerable extent overshadowed. This is something of a pity because, in one or two instances, a new standard of departmental efficiency is being established through wisely chosen personnel. Particularly does this seem the case in the Department of the Interior, where the new Secretary, Mr. Ickes, has gathered about him a group of unusually competent men, including Margold as Solicitor, Slattery and Chapman as Assistant Secretaries and Collier as Indian Commissioner. Of course, his selection of Louis R. Glavis as head of the investigating activities of the Department was especially interesting, because it revives memories of the Taft administration. In those days Mr. Glavis was one of the original progressives and conservationists. As much to him as to anyone else was due the historic Ballinger incident, which had a great deal to do with the wrecking of the Taft administration and the loss of Congress by the Republicans in 1910. There is no doubt that Mr. Ickes has succeeded in making his department over in a pretty shipshape way, but he, with his Cabinet colleagues, might just as well become resigned to relative obscurity.

By the time this piece appears, I expect our delegation to the London Conference will either have sailed or be on the point of sailing. Notwithstanding the enthusiastic reception of Mr. Roosevelt's appeal to the nations in the interest of peace and international coöperation, I find no seasoned observer who thinks the situation has been altered, or the chances for conference success greatly enhanced. The delegation will depart with much surface confidence and the Rooseveltian reiteration that the Conference "must succeed." But we should not be self-deluded as to the nature and number of the difficulties, none of which has been removed by the President's appeal. Such stirring statements have been made before. With their objectives everyone is in accord, but in the past they have been quickly forgotten and the effect has been negligible. If the Conference succeeds it will be because critical conditions make failure clearly calamitous to everybody concerned, and not because of the rhetorical pronouncements of national leaders.

T. R. B.

Washington.

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Other People's Money

The Rayburn Security Bill—Exempting Favorites—The Publicity Spotlight—Protecting Bond Buyers but Not Stock Buyers

THERE can be no question that the Rayburn Security Bill passed by the House marks an immense improvement over the first securities bill introduced in the Senate. The Senate bill was, at the same time, more drastic and more lenient than the Rayburn bill, but unfortunately its drastic features hardly touched those areas of security operation where the dirty work is done, while its inadequacy and looseness were all in those sections where definiteness and severity were most needed.

The new bill applies to the issuance of all securities, save federal, state, municipal, county or other governmental securities. It exempts from its provisions the securities of common carriers on the ground that these are already subject to the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It exempts also the securities of building and loan associations and religious or charitable corporations, insurance policies, receivers' certificates and short-term commercial paper. The bill applies to the stocks and bonds of industrial corporations, utility corporations, commercial and financial corporations of all sorts. However, it does not cover the securities of banks, either state or national.

There is nothing in the bill exempting holding companies which control either banks or railroads. However, if the railroad bill becomes a law, subjecting railroad holding companies to the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, what effect will this have on the securities of the railroad holding companies under the Rayburn Bill? Holding companies frequently own and operate many kinds of industries besides railroads, and there is no reason why they, in any case, should be exempt from the effect of the new security act. There is, indeed, no reason why railroad securities should be exempt. This would involve no clash with the Interstate Commerce Commission. This is not a regulatory measure. It is a bill providing for publicity, and every kind of large-scale security issue ought to be subject to its provisions. The investor ought to be able to get facts about all corporation issues in one place.

The clause which exempts banking securities is obscure, since it exempts the securities of any banking institution "the business of which is substantially confined to banking." Just what "substantially" means leaves plenty of room for the courts to admit a good many dangerous operations. Many banking institutions do a trust business and in their trust departments do a large-scale bonding business. All this is so common to present-day banking that it might all be held to be "substantially" banking business. What is more, banks are hooked up with holding companies. Thus Bank A is owned by holding company B. Holding company B is owned by holding company C. Holding company C owns and operates security companies, utility companies, all sorts of companies. There is no immediate corporate connection between Bank A and holding company C, but in practice, that connection may be as close as that of a bank and its affiliate. Why should not the securities of such a bank be subject to the publicity law? This being so, what objection is there to any bank being brought within its provisions?

These criticisms are offered without intending in any way to minimize the value of the bill. Its provision providing for a delay of thirty days after registration before sales can begin is excellent, and I hope the House will not reduce that period to twenty days as urged by the Senate. The provisions relating to filing, to prospectuses and review have been clarified and made workable. Most important of all, the requirements which it sets up for the statements to be filed are so far superior to the Senate bill that it may be said that this bill is good and the Senate bill worthless.

Since this is a publicity bill, its most essential feature is the kind and extent of the publicity which it requires. And there can be little doubt that the buyer of a newly issued bond will be better off if this law is enacted than he would be without it.

Certain improvements, however, could be made in it, I think. First of all, the identity of promoters should be disclosed. The meaning of the word "promoter" should also be fixed. The bill demands a list of the names of the persons, if any, owning more than 10 percent of any class of stock, etc. In newly organized corporations, this may prove futile unless the requirement is clarified to exclude dummy organizers. If such a statement had been filed in the case of the United States Steel Corporation it would have disclosed the names of a group of unimportant office boys and clerks. Furthermore, the requirement should be not only for the names of those owning over 10 percent of the stock but also for the names of, let us say, the twenty leading stockholders, whether they owned 10 percent or not. Another section requires the disclosure of the outstanding amount of capital stock and what portion is paid up. I earnestly hope the opportunity will not be lost to force issuers to disclose also what has been paid for the stock. There are several provisions requiring statements of balance sheets, income and cost accounts, remuneration paid officers, etc., for the "past year." But this requirement should cover, not one year but the preceding three, as well as any existing arrangement about future compensation or bonuses.

The whole question of corporate statements is a difficult one. Most large corporations now own numerous, or at least several, subsidiaries. The consolidated balance sheet required should contain supporting schedules or statements from all subsidiaries. Without this the consolidated balance sheet may be worthless.

The new act requires that the purpose for which the securities are issued shall be stated. This is excellent, but if such securities are to be issued in order to acquire, directly or indirectly, any other business, then the statement should disclose (1) the name of such business and full particulars about its operations; (2) its balance sheet and income and expense account for three years, and (3) most important of all, what interest the promoters or the directors or officers of the issuing company have, directly or indirectly, in the stock or ownership of the company acquired; (4) an appraisal of the property thus acquired. Several other suggestions might be made. But I am eager, again, to point out that these are offered not to criticize a good bill, but merely to strengthen it.

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I think it important however to say that in my judgment, while this bill, so far as it goes, will afford a degree of protection to purchasers of *bonds,* it will not cover that section of the security business which sells *stocks* to the public. I have already pointed out that stocks, save in a limited number of cases, are not publicly offered. They are almost always sold first to insiders and then later distributed to the public through the medium of the Stock Exchange. And such transactions the bill does not deal with. Perhaps it is not possible to reach this form of distribution through such a bill. It may be that we must depend, first, upon a federal licensing law for corporations in interstate commerce (if that is constitutional) and second, upon some sort of measure dealing directly with the Stock Exchange. On this latter subject it may be in point to ask what has become of the bill to set up federal regulation of the Stock Exchange which Samuel Untermyer was said to be preparing and which we heard something about recently. Nothing about that has been heard very lately. Can it be that this, too, like the banking bill, is subject to the influence halting further legislation "which tends to upset business"?

In any case, this Rayburn Bill is a good bill and ought not be submitted to sidetracking in order to calm the fears of any tremulous souls in the administration. It is important to understand what it does and what it does not do, and that it is a most excellent beginning.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Another Mirror

I OUGHT to be the last person in the world to quarrel with the title of this tapestry book,[1] for I have liked to say that in the painting, the music, even in a chair, a fan, a slipper of some period or epoch, you can find the essence of it. Nevertheless, having stopped on many a Florentine morning before the Medici tapestries, I know that when Miss Ackerman ends her account of Catherine, Henri II, Henri III, Diane de Poitiers and Catherine's widowed vengeance of splendor and pageantry, of which these tapestries are a part, by stating that "all this is summarized" in them as they hang there in the Uffizi, she is sailing a bit high. Only in the sense that all of God is expressed in the crannied-wall flower can we say so. I will, however, go to the stocks with the author on this point; it is an admonitory and most fecund way of approach to her subject. It makes, also, the right basis for the book. Tapestries are closely bound up with their epochs, as elements in household furniture, as evidence of prestige for their owners or of ostentatious policy, and for us, as historical notations. The purpose of Miss Ackerman's book is to lift out tapestries from their museum inertia into the more exact relation to life that is implicit in them, to indicate their relation to diverse races, cults, conceptions, commerces, societies, personalities and streams of fortune and events, and to increase in us a beautiful, full comprehension.

To write an adequate review of so remarkable, absorbing and erudite a book is out of the question. To do an honest review I must put in one reservation, the only one I should make. There is a tendency now and again toward a kind of summation, a willful application of a theory—perhaps I should be indicating better its effect on myself if I said rather an arbitrary set on thinking a certain way—that leaves me highly unsympathetic, and that, if there were much of it, would antagonize me to the superb claims of the book as a whole. This tendency shows most in the earlier chapters, where there is less material, historical and actual (which is to say surviving examples of the art) to go on, and where private theory is somewhat invited. I am aware, however, that to another type of mind this very thing in Dr. Ackerman's quality will be gratifying and attractive. There is not space to define very fully what I mean: the points disappear without full quotation, and I will only cite two:

When you take the celebrated Halberstadt tapestry (plate 5 among the illustrations) of Charlemagne, with its mottoes—such as Cato's "He who gives quickly gives double"—from the ancients and find that "at the crest of the Age of Faith an unqualified skepticism and factual pessimism are flatly stated," you are either thinking very arbitrarily or applying in the wrong place a truth from elsewhere. When, after recounting the Alexandrian society, in whose art flourished the *putti* (familiar to us in Pompeii, the Renaissance, and so on), you come to the decorative Alexandrian motifs of these little figures gathering grapes, catching fowls and other labors common to men, and draw the conclusion that "the caricature of work is the ultimate symptom of disgust with life," you may, if you like, be saying a truth and you may be describing some of Alexandria. But essentially, with regard to these particular decorative motifs themselves of *putti,* you are talking only a sort of willful nonsense or twisted theorizing. It can just as easily be said that the images of these little half-grotesques, so busy with the labors of grown men and women, show a love of life as such. You do not necessarily invent thus out of a disgust with life, exactly as you do not necessarily invent simple work like gathering grapes to fill the jaded day; on the contrary you may have the jaded day because you never had any gift for simple things or simple natural work.

A somewhat parallel manner of disposing of large matters occurs not seldom in the book. The author's conclusions are, for example, a trifle too easy with Imperial Rome, which, as once for Hamlet, again must stop a bung to keep the wind away, this time from its artistic appraisal. Obviously, however, Dr. Ackerman's space is not infinite and diverse summations are obliged to be condensed and pointed. Since these must be, I will say that, with an exception or so, I follow her in them all, and admire the quality and power of the mind that found these perspectives for the discussion.

The volume begins with the first known weaves, about B.C. 2900, not the actual stuff but a painting of it on the walls of the mastaba of Hesy, at Saqqara, and follows with chapters on the ancient East and the Egyptian tapestries, the Empires of Rome, the Norsemen and their descendants, tapestry in the fourteenth century, in the fifteenth century, and the fifteenth-century weavers and designers. There is a chapter on the tapestry of the reign of Marguerite of Austria (1480-1530); one on the looms of Fontainebleau; on the Renaissance; on Catherine de Medici and Henri

[1] Tapestry: the Mirror of Civilization, by Phyllis Ackerman. New York: Oxford University Press. With 48 full-page illustrations. 451 pages. $4.75.

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III; and so on through Rubens and the seventeenth century. After the Far and Middle East, and Peru and Mexico, we return to the Europe of Louis XIV, Louis XV, to Goya in Spain, and finally to the nineteenth century, mostly to the English movement under William Morris, with which the historical outline ends. The excellence of the book, meanwhile, has steadily grown. I can merely hint at the precision and the fine, curious persuasiveness of the account of textile design in Peru, or the subtle fashion in which the esthetic and the social and personal elements in the Louis XIV tapestry are set forth, or the indication of the connection between the forms of such tapestry as Boucher designed for the Pompadour to the houses and social tastes of the French eighteenth century, with the ensuing variation in tapestry motifs, dimensions and even surface texture.

The delineation of Goya's place in tapestry, of Goya's share in the Spanish characteristics, and of Spain in art, is bold, finely planned and very sure and unified in tone. The statement that Spain is the country of the "strikingly second-rate" is followed by a paragraph so concrete and brilliant that I am almost carried past saying that such a statement seems to me to do what many critics do with regard to Spain. The temptation is to compare the Spanish example with what it may derive from. Compared to that, it may rank here or rank there in one's estimation. But in relation to itself (as, so to speak, a free unit that is Spanish) it requires a judgment that acts within an intuition freer from the outside comparison. To say that Spanish art's effect "is won by exaggeration, everything is overdone, facts are not stated but insisted upon," and "instead of reserve there is repression," is to make most searching and effective observations. Such observations may be highly pertinent to the nature of the reactions one discovers in oneself on coming to the art of Spain; but they are not wholly *final* to the art itself. Since repression can be at times a form of emotion, just as restraint at times can be sterility or emptiness, and since exaggeration can be a relative term as can be the blueness of the sky, the choice may come down to what you feel about the Spanish character. And between those two aspects of the Spanish character of which Miss Ackerman speaks—that actuality and those storms of feeling, the unescapable, factual lucidity of the Latin, implacable, irritated to cynicism, the chaotic excitement exasperated almost to hysteria—there is, I believe, out of a long acquaintance with Spain and Spanish art, another element that must be mentioned: the mystical, between the two others it appears. It is not these two, the factual and emotional elements, for they are qualities of their sun and their country and I can apprehend them; it is the Spanish form of the mystical that is the element in the Spaniard's art that for me remains most foreign.

The account of nineteenth-century tapestry, closing the history, is made, by a most brilliant turn in the book's design, to clinch the main bases of the argument all along, both as to the relation of tapestry to the world in which it appears and as to the integrity of the craft itself. We see the fripperies and reproductions among Continental tapestries and how "the conspicuous exception was England, where William Morris and his associates not only attempted to revive tapestry and clothe it in a new style, but undertook to confront and combat the evils" of the Materialist century that was in progress. "He was inexhaustible, determined, righteous, and he had brains. But they were English brains, so he did the typical English thing. He began to act." The discussion of the worth of Morris' achievement, with its digital conscience that gives the illusion of clarity and with its actual muddling, is made, as I said, to clinch and to coördinate the theses of the book. Taken more generally, as an evaluation and placement of Morris and all that is coupled with his name, this short and somewhat dazzling chapter will remain, for me at least, the last word.

By a happy insight the chapter on the technique and esthetics of tapestry comes only after its history has been finished. Up to that point barely enough has been indicated to provide the history its necessary ground and the reader his assurance of the author's right to speak. This technical and esthetic chapter is homely and plain with thorough knowledge, and is humble and edged by the rare combination of esthetic thinking with that special sense that usually appears only within the experience of a craftsman. The tapestry craft in its organized life is made apparent in the next appendix, on Guild Regulations; and the third appendix on Some Collectors and Collections serves very well the sense of tapestry in relation to prestige, royal ambitions, personalities, the changes of history, and so on. For those who wish to go further in the subject here and there, and in order to relieve the account of the clutter of such accretions, various details, sources and references are separated into the notes at the end of the volume, eighty-seven pages in smaller type, remarkable in their scope and well condensed.

STARK YOUNG.

"American Sources of Modern Art"

Mr. Aldous Huxley, the well known British novelist, who has long been interested in Mayan art and has lately been studying examples of it in Guatemala, happened to be in New York at the time the Exhibition of pre-Columbian Art opened at the Museum of Modern Art.—THE EDITORS.

AS OF all good things, one can have too much of history—particularly where art is concerned. We labor still under the nineteenth-century delusion that the history of a thing provides a sufficient account of that thing. It doesn't. The history of art is not art, any more than the history of religion is religion. The essence of art consists in the individual experience of artist and onlooker. History has nothing to do with our most intimate esthetic satisfactions. All that the study of history can do for us, in so far as we are artists or lovers of art, is to make us familiar with alien conventions and in this way prepare our habit-ridden minds to receive a communication from the far-off artists who worked within those conventions.

The current exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art is nominally historical. Its official title—"American Sources of Modern Art"—is a peg on which one could hang any number of more less learned discourses—but discourses, ultimately, quite beside the point. For the significant thing about a work of art is not its modernness or its American

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primitiveness, but its goodness or badness. (Incidentally, it is very hard to perceive what relation there is supposed to be between the anthology of pre-Columbian art on the upper floors of the Museum and the small, but not select, exhibition of contemporary art below. I tried to get it; but failed completely.) To classify works of art under historical categories is to obscure the real issue. The perfect exhibition would be one, not of Moderns or Primitives, but simply of Art, *sub specie aeternitatis*. It would be an assemblage, from all over space and time, of select specimens of excellence and rubbish. There are many ways of being subtle and aware and many ways of being coarse and insensitive; there are many kinds of vulgarity and of grandeur, of sentimentality and nobility. Such an exhibition as I have described would aim at revealing all those hitherto imagined by the human mind.

The weak, the downright bad and the middling have at all times vastly outnumbered the excellent works of art. Even during the epochs when art was most lavishly encouraged, when tradition was sound, when a happy chance had thrown up an unusual number of men of genius—even at these fortunate moments, good art has been rare and poor art common. Our historical classification tends to mask this supremely important fact. Historically minded people are apt to speak of the artistic production of entire periods and races as though it were all one homogeneous thing. Whereas, in esthetic reality, the art of every time and place is always a great mass of suet with occasional raisins parsimoniously dotted about in the suffocating mass. Sometimes there are no raisins at all, and all is untempered dumpling.

The art of Central and South America has just as little qualitative homogeneity as any other. There has been a tendency, in the recent popular books on the subject, to talk about the Mayas, the Peruvians, the peoples of Mexico, as though they were all nations of artists—as though every work produced in their respective traditions were admirable. This, of course, is entirely ridiculous. No artistic tradition, however excellent, can make up for lack of talent in those who work within it. Against the magnificent stone serpents in the National Museum of Mexico—among them, the most beautiful piece of abstract sculpture I ever saw—one must set the carvings at Teotihuacan, where the snakes have all the vulgar obviousness of theatrical properties. The best of the Peruvian goldsmith's work is superb; but we must not forget that there are also Peruvian toby-jugs that have all the penetrating insensitiveness of the worst sixteenth-century German portraiture. And so on. For every masterpiece of early American art there are dozens, even hundreds, of worthless and uninteresting works. It is inevitable and in the nature of things.

The exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art is a kind of anthology of pre-Columbian sculpture, ceramics and metal work. A small anthology and one on which the historical preoccupations of those who made it has imposed certain limitations. Nevertheless a very interesting anthology. Maya sculpture is represented by several small and very delicate bas-reliefs from Piedras Negras, and by three or four carvings in the round from Copan. Among these last is the celebrated head of the Maize Goddess, loaned by the Peabody Museum, one of the most beautiful pieces of sculpture produced in any great artistic tradition. Less well known, but no less deserving of admiration, is the terra-cotta figure, from Campeche, of a goddess with a worshipper in her lap. This figure (the like of which I never remember to have seen before in any collection of Maya ceramics) is a miracle of mingled boldness and delicacy, of breadth of treatment and extreme sensitiveness.

For me, the greatest surprise of the exhibition was the statue which stands in the vestibule. It represents a tattooed man and was made by the Guetars (whoever they may have been) in Costa Rica. There is an almost terrifying intensity about this work—the product of a culture of which, I am ashamed to say, I had never even heard until, a few days since, I stumbled upon the cases of Guetar art at the Natural History Museum. I wish space could have been found in the present exhibition for some of the extraordinary terra-cotta heads in those cases.

A more conspicuous absence was that of all specimens of the horrific in Aztec art. This omission was no doubt deliberate. There is no tradition of horribleness in contemporary art and as this exhibition was designed to show the American sources of contemporary art, no examples of horribleness were included. I regret this limitation imposed by the historical framework of the exhibition. No anthology of early American art is complete without at least a few specimens of Aztec frightfulness. And what a frightfulness it is! No people, so far as I know, has ever evolved such an effective tradition for the expression of horror as did the Aztecs. When some good artist uses the tradition, the effect is really blood curdling. Those little death goddesses in the National Museum of Mexico, with their grinning skull-faces and their gesticulating fingers, are about the most appalling objects ever executed by the hand of man. And quite apart from subject matter and associations, there is, in certain Aztec works, a purely formal horribleness, which produces the strongest effect on the mind of the beholder. In the so-called Chac Mool figures, for example, there is no obvious horror. They represent a man lying on his back, his head lifted and turned over one shoulder, his hands crossed on his belly. Nothing horrible about the subject. But the formal treatment of these figures with their strangely flattened planes meeting at sharply defined angles gives them an indescribably sinister and horrible appearance. Why, it is very hard to say. The problem of the psychological effects produced by purely formal relations is one that still remains to be investigated.

ALDOUS HUXLEY.

Poem

At least, and still at lingering last we can
Console ourselves because this earth is ours,
Though we could never hurl the hurricane,
Nor weld a hill, nor soft unlock the showers,
Nor rivet the diamond under the abyss,
Nor add the desert up, nor crumble the frost
Over the flower's side. Remembering this
The warm security of pride is lost,
For we are dull mismasters of a huge event
And cannot think who tutored us to fail,
We ruin so quick, and hope is nearly spent:
But faint at intervals, benign and frail
A courage whispers, just this side of fate,
Cling earthward, inward, do not abdicate!

HILDEGARDE FLANNER.

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CORRESPONDENCE

All Charity Is Breaking Down

SIR: I am surprised that such an earnest devotee of a scientific Marxist approach to history as Matthew Josephson writes of the "last gasp of private charity" and gives little indication that public charity is also breaking down. The Christian conception of personal salvation and brotherly love and the capitalist conception of rugged individualism, which have for so many years been strangely mingled, whether they find expression in private or in public charity, have been found hopelessly inadequate.

This would be shown more clearly had Mr. Josephson given the correct figures in regard to the relief situation in New York. His first article [The New Republic, May 10] particularly—highly statistical and factual—is based on figures and facts of six months ago. . . . At the beginning of May, 154,481 families (civilian and veteran) were receiving home relief in the form of food tickets from the city of New York, averaging $25.19 per month for a family. Seventy-six thousand families were being cared for by the Department of Public Welfare through the City Work Bureau. The workers at the City Work Bureau receive $45 a month. The unskilled workers work four days at $4.50. Skilled workers and professional people work fewer days per month at a higher daily wage. At the end of April some 38,788 applications for relief were pending. This makes a total of 269,000 families on the city's relief roll. This does not include the single men and women who live in New York City and for whom no relief is provided except through public lodging houses and breadlines. In the matter of the payment of rents the city has pursued a cat-and-mouse policy. Mr. Josephson's statement that rents have been paid on alternate months is not correct. Until the month of May families receiving home relief in the form of food tickets received rent only as an eviction was about to take place. Armed with a notice of eviction, it was possible for a family already on relief to get a check for one month's rent. In most cases, this did not pay the rent for the apartment occupied by the family, which was usually months in arrears. With this check the family proceeded to hunt for new quarters. Landlord after landlord refused to take in families who came with the first month's rent in the form of a home-relief check. . . .

Let us take this figure of 269,000 families who by the first of May had turned to the city for relief. Taking as a basis the inadequate relief already extended on an average to the family and adding to it sufficient for an average rental of $20 a month, the Department of Public Welfare would have to see that $45 per month per family was provided. At least $12 million a month would have to be provided by the city to care for these families without allowing for the acceptance of a single new case, although there is a monotonous and deadly increase each month in the number of relief cases; without allowing any money at all for the relief of single men, living in homes of one or two rooms throughout the city, and who are starving rather than submit to the relief now provided in the lodging houses.

In the face of this need, the Department of Public Welfare appeared before the Board of Estimate on May 1 with a request for $5 million from the city for relief. This, with $3.1 million supplementary aid from state and federal funds, brought the total to $8.1 million, which was $4 million too little on the basis of the Department's own figures! The $4 million had to be subtracted somewhere from the needs of the unemployed, and immediately word was given in every Home Relief Bureau in the city and by Commissioner Taylor himself that no rents would be paid during the month of May. A veritable flood of dispossess notices has gone out over the city. More and more evictions are taking place, for landlords who formerly through a dispossess notice might extract rent from the city are aware that the relief policy has definitely changed.

Within the last week or two a few concessions have been made to the clamor for the payment of rent by the statement that in cases of extreme illness rents might be paid to prevent an eviction. The Home Relief Bureaus are filled with crowds of despairing people who have brought their dispossess notices and who cannot quite accept the fact that the city will not provide shelter. . . .

Adequate relief can be provided, not for one or two or three families, but must be provided for all the jobless through federal, state and city appropriations. Governor Lehman adjourned the legislature without facing the relief problem. President Roosevelt has been content to let Congress appropriate only 66 percent more than was available a year ago, although the situation is twice as bad. Mayor O'Brien and the Board of Estimate, who have let Commissioner Taylor know how much he can ask for, have not faced the matter frankly in the city, nor have they insisted that the state and federal administrations, both Democratic, must take immediate action on the problem.

There is little doubt that public relief under the present capitalist system will prove more and more inadequate. There is no sign on the horizon of any bold program in city, state or nation which would set up public works sufficient to affect the unemployment situation. Yet we have an opportunity now for slum clearance, for public housing, the creation of jobs and of social wealth (to mention only one type of public works) which would make jobs for the unemployed. Difficult as it was to get the governmental agencies to accept the need for public relief for the unemployed, we will find them continuing the "hit-or-miss" dole system, continuing to discourage applications for relief, spreading fear and despair throughout the workers of the land before they will admit that this is the last gasp of all charity, of a whole system.

Only a program which calls for such public works and ownership as will mean a redistribution of wealth and a reorganization of society can succeed. The workers must unite. It is their pressure alone that will make inevitable the final facing of our problems. But before that great mass movement of workers is effected, there is still a large part to be played by such commentators as Matthew Josephson in giving correct facts and analyses and in pointing to the need for a social program, not of relief, but of revolution.

MARY FOX,
New York City. Workers' Committee on Unemployment.

SIR: Matthew Josephson in your issue of May 10 may be developing a point which will become apparent in a subsequent article, but to many of us in the front lines of the depression sector, to use his figure, he has missed fire, and is guilty in addition of serious understatements which cannot be excused since the official facts are available to all. While it is perfectly true that private charity plays a very minor role in the total relief situation, the time for funeral obsequies was 1931 and not 1933. The most cursory analysis would indicate that public relief is here and here to stay. As far back as January, 90 percent of all unemployment relief the country over came from tax-supported funds, and the ratio has grown since. Community Chest drives have fallen significantly below even reduced budgets; the talk everywhere is of the need for drastic economies, with the non-relief social agencies the worst sufferers. Social-work programs are fighting for their very life.

What is today of greater importance to the unemployed than the source of their relief is the adequacy of that relief and the setting in which it is doled out. Under our traditional poor law, inherited from the notorious poor-law legislation of England, the poor had no right to relief, but received it as a public nuisance, as the Webbs have pointed out. Paupers were denied the prerogatives of citizens, and the poor-law authorities originally had the right to punish as well as relieve. And the authorities *abated* the nuisance at the least cost to the state. Now, despite all our much envied advance in the techniques of social case work, unemployment relief in America today still smells of the poor law. There is something Calvinistic in our making the wretch who is out of work as miserable as possible; we're punishing him for being a failure. While we do not usually take away from him his right to vote, he understands pretty plainly that he's only dirt and that he'd better be damned grateful for the bone we throw him. . . . With the exception of small groups here and

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there, social workers have made no organized protest against a kind of relief which is the negation of all they've been fighting for during the past fifteen years. Neither has the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers taken any stand against a system that compels families to wait five and six weeks (not one as Mr. Josephson says) before their applications are even investigated. But the timidity of social workers in our present crisis and their utter failure to evolve any sort of leadership is a story that deserves elaboration at some other time.

The problem of work relief is a serious one. The Home Relief Bureau, as Mr. Josephson says, is transferring as many of its families as it can to work relief. These men, on $45-a-month wages, are competing with "free labor" and are setting a new wage standard. Unemployed physicians, nurses, teachers, social workers and technicians of all kinds are being put to work in their own callings on a relief wage that averages from $17 to $20 a week. This tendency to kill two birds with one stone is spreading and we will see more of it as the depression settles into its permanent phase. Its vicious social and economic significance is clear. As more and more of the essential services of the state are performed on relief wages, as we move from an industrial to a relief economy, the effect upon the wage scale and upon the total purchasing capacity of the nation will be little short of appalling.

Who protests? Not our business leaders, not the A. F. of L., not social workers. Those of us in the profession who see clearly what we are headed for do not look to social-work spokesmen for a way out. They are part and parcel of the whole miserable picture. Only effective action by the unemployed themselves will achieve adequate results. The Unemployed Councils are a beginning of organized protest which must reach mammoth proportions to be heard. And there are some of us who wish them long life and more power.

JACOB FISHER,
New York City. The Association of Federation Workers.

SIR: I am grateful to Miss Fox for indicating how much darker the situation has become since I prepared my articles; also, I consider Mr. Fisher's point about "forced labor" already competing with "free labor" here a very good one. On this score I had only been able to form suspicions.

On the grounds of taste, I prefer the method of understatement; and, if possible, as far as possible, "to let a story tell itself." All my instincts told me that the relief authorities from whom I obtained quantitative facts would tend officially to minimize the conditions they faced and which were actually far beyond their control. Save for a few clues, as suggested in my articles, I had no means of verifying their statistical reports or press statements. On the other hand, I felt that the information issued to me by the Gibson Committee and the city welfare organizations was terribly revealing in itself. Despite good intentions in many quarters, the relief system was foundering because it was basically wrong.

I salute the downfall of our monstrous and hypocritical system of private charity. Our public institutions for charity I consider, for the most part, simply medieval. As for revolution, I could wish that the first outburst of revolt might come, with divine justice, from those men and women who are rendered idle, famished and degraded through no wish of their own, but I fear that things will not take this course.

Gaylordsville, Conn. MATTHEW JOSEPHSON.

The Arms Embargo

SIR: Your editorial of April 26 on the Arms Embargo Bill is a most interesting one. Of course everyone would agree with you in wishing that there might be in every country of the world a government monopoly of munition manufacture and complete prohibition of all export. But many persons will feel that this idealistic solution is not possible now or in the near future. The next best thing seems to be an arrangement under which the important nations may refuse to give one or more nations the guns with which to break the Kellogg Pact. That is the purpose of this Arms Embargo Bill.

As it is now, the red tape in the procedure necessary for the United States to join the other nations in such a step is so cumbersome as to make any action impossible. If our representatives should agree at any conference that the withholding of arms from any nation is justified, the actual shipment could not be stopped without congressional action. This might take months to obtain. Under the proposed plan it could take effect at once by order of the President.

There is perhaps a remote chance that a world refusal to sell arms to a nation breaking the Kellogg Pact will drag us all into war. But what is the alternative? Is it not the old system of international anarchy when nations were absolutely certain to drift into war sooner or later? Are we to say to any nation starting off on any imperialistic adventure, "We disapprove of your methods but it you need any more rifles we shall be glad to send them"? Do you really mean, as your editorial implies, that you are not willing to have the nations of the world do anything whatsoever to restrain a nation from breaking the Kellogg Pact? Is it not useless to dream about lasting world peace unless the nations can devise some machinery to check a militaristic minority in some country from plunging us all into war? Is it not seeing ghosts to fear that any attempt along this line of restraint, however mild, must result in war? Is there any more decent and sane step the nations could take than this one, which is simply to refuse to assist the breaking of the Pact by supplying the arms to do it with?

I venture to believe that this Arms Embargo Bill is a small but very important brick in the structure of world peace, which mankind is trying to build through the League of Nations, the World Court and the Pact of Paris, and we must build that structure piece by piece if we are to prevent war. We can never do it by expecting the cathedral of peace to spring up fully completed, nor by being afraid to put any bricks at all into the structure.

PHILIP C. NASH,
New York City. Director, League of Nations Association.

"J'Accuse"

SIR: Forty years ago a man was dismissed from office, deprived of rank, imprisoned and tortured. He was judged on false testimony; he was convicted by a "fixed" court; he was condemned because he was a Jew. And the world was stirred by his fate. In every land resounded the passionate protest against prejudice and persecution. Throughout the globe the voice of justice was heard in behalf of this victim of barbaric bigotry, of anti-Semitism.

Today 600,000 human beings are victims of the same barbaric bigotry. Today half a million men and women, like Dreyfus, are tortured and imprisoned, deprived of rank and dismissed from office, judged on false evidence, convicted by a biased court, condemned because they are Jews.

But where is the protest? Where is the cry of anguish that humanity and decency are violated in every action of the Nazis, that liberty and truth and justice lie prostrate under the Juggernaut of rapacious fanatics? Where is the roar of wrath that the gradual gains of human enlightenment and the painful progress of civilized conduct are now suddenly abolished and destroyed?

There are atrocities in Germany. Despite indignant disavowal by Nazi officialdom, despite inspired and coerced denial by some German Jews, the atrocity stories are true. A multitude of witnesses testify to this. Hundreds of concrete and authenticated instances have been published in the reputable newspapers of Holland and Denmark, France and Austria, England and America. Hundreds of others have been presented in the four gruesome lists which the Polish Ambassador—bitter irony—has furnished to the German Foreign Office. And The Manchester Guardian reports, "There has been no cessation of the Nazi campaign of torture against Jews and others. . . . Unofficial vengeance is still being wreaked by Storm Troopers in the 'Brown Houses.'"

There is a "cold pogrom" in Germany. Without cause or trial, Jews are dismissed from their posts in civil and military service, in government-owned or controlled enterprises, in public institutions and semi-public establishments—for no other reason than that they are Jews. Jurists are removed from courts, doctors from hospitals, teachers from schools, chemists from research laboratories, journalists from periodicals, actors and musicians from the theatres, and so on, and so on. Artisans and laborers are

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expelled from their unions and discharged from their jobs. Merchants and traders are boycotted.

There is spiritual degradation of the Jews in Germany. Worse than physical insecurity, worse than economic ruin, is the pariah caste to which they have been relegated. The inhumanity of this act is exceeded only by the indecency with which it is proclaimed. The description of Jewish inability to measure up to the moral standards of the Nazis is couched in abuse unprintable here. The revolting coarseness of the insults and invectives which are hurled at the Jews is in itself sufficient evidence of psychosis. But there is small comfort to the victims in the fact that this obloquy is the product of mental derangement. They are defiled. And it needs no psychiatrist to tell us what happens to the minds and souls of men when they must helplessly suffer degradation. What it does to the children is too shocking to contemplate.

There are, of course, other victims of the Nazi terror. Hundreds of militant liberals and republicans as well as thousands of Socialists and Communists have suffered outrages as great as those inflicted on the Jews. But, although subjected to the same tyranny and brutality, they are not victims in the same sense as the Jew. For they are the vanquished in a struggle, able through sheer numbers to wage some sort of conflict. The Jews, on the other hand, are physically overwhelmed and spiritually offered as a sacrifice.

We have had protests against these conditions. The Jews, muddle-headed as ever when their fate as a people is concerned and now more fearful than usual of increasing the misery of the German victims, have held meetings and invoked the conscience of mankind, have threatened reprisals and even begun a fitful sort of boycott.

But the non-Jews, what of them? Is it enough that a few clerics have offered us their sincere sympathy and earnest lamentations? Is it sufficient that a few liberals have condemned the tyranny and oppression of the Hitler dictatorship? Is it possible that the Christians do not realize that the chief protest must be their protest, that the war to end anti-Semitism is their war? Is it conceivable that there is no great Gentile today who is haunted, as Zola was haunted, by the specter of these innocents who expiate with the most frightful tortures a crime which they did not commit? Is there none at all who will cry, *"It is my duty to speak, I do not wish to be an accomplice"?*

I accuse the Gentile world of having failed in this duty.

I accuse the League of Nations, its councils and its commissions and its courts, of turpitude and impotence in abstaining from intervention on behalf of the Jewish minority.

I accuse Ramsay MacDonald, Edouard Herriot, Joseph Stalin, and a thousand lesser statesmen, who have incessantly proclaimed their allegiance to the doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man, of shameful silence whereby the moral ideal in politics is sacrificed to immediate expediency and mutual toleration of evil.

I accuse the Pope, who has just inaugurated a Holy Year with the resounding words, "Open to me the gate of justice," of neglecting to call upon the Catholic nations and governments to cease crucifying the people of Christ as the Christ of people.

I accuse President Roosevelt of a policy of cool correctitude which shuns the courageous declaration of his reasons for postponing the appointment of an American Ambassador to Germany.

I accuse—most of all I accuse—those humanitarian writers, those leaders of contemporary Christian thought—Shaw and Wells and Drinkwater, Rolland and Claudel and Gide, Hauptmann, Thomas Mann and Remarque, Mencken, Dreiser and Lewis—who are recreant to humanity and truth and justice in not having entered the lists against Hitlerism. I make this accusation not unmindful of the statements which they have uttered—so unlike the fervent pamphlets of Zola—for I hold that they owe civilization more than mere announcement of their sentiments. I accuse them of not having enlisted all of their influence and eloquence and power in the war against the forces which are poisoning the minds of men, stirring the passions of intolerance and reaction, exploiting the sentiment of patriotism and sacrificing the Jew as scapegoat for the ills of mankind. If they can remain silent today, then, indeed, Zola's bitter commentary is true. *"Virtue is only a word, the world is black and empty!"*

New York City. JOHAN J. SMERTENKO.

Jim-Crowism in the Capital

SIR: One of the important results of the Continental Congress in Washington was to shed light on the extent to which discrimination against Negroes is carried on in Washington, the capital of the nation. What the Congress, and especially the Socialist and labor delegates from New York, did to protest against the discrimination in the Cairo Hotel is well known. What is less well known is that the Tourist Camp owned by the government and operated under the general direction of the Quartermasters' Bureau of the War Department also discriminates against Negroes. Owing to the week-end holiday I could not reach any of the high officials. I do not believe the facts were known to the administration itself, but they are now. . . .

Speaking for myself and for the Socialist party, we believe that all this discrimination—economic, political and social—is not only unjust in itself, but fraught with menace to the country. . . . I call on men of good will of all races and parties to take cognizance of this fact and of the general situation which can only be ended by true democracy. Especially do I call on workers to vindicate that solidarity of labor which alone is our great hope. . . . Immediate pressure should be put upon it to achieve this result. The Socialist party will not let the matter rest but will fight the case of discrimination by the Cairo Hotel and insist that the administration abolish discrimination against Negroes by departments of the federal government.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York City.

"Prosperity Pensions"

SIR: Our present difficulties are due to many causes, but the most powerful of all of them can, I believe, be controlled, namely, excessive investment in productive facilities whereby productive capacity tends to outrun consumers' demand, resulting in general price declines. . . . The solution must lie in controlling the proportion of our national income that can be applied to investment in productive facilities. And simple methods in consonance with American tradition are available. To maintain the balance between productive capacity and consumers' demand we need a pump whereby purchasing power in any desired volume may be diverted from channels of investment to channels of consumption.

This pump consists of two parts: (1) a more effective income tax specially designed to take money out of the hands of those who would use it for investment, and (2) "prosperity pensions" to put the money into the hands of those who will spend it on living.

The principle change needed in the income tax concerns the discrepancy of rates between those on corporations and those on individuals, which has resulted in the tax-avoiding private holding corporations, and has tended toward the withholding of dividends by corporations generally, whereby earnings have largely been reinvested in overexpanded plant facilities. By proper adjustment of this and other features, the revenues yielded by the income tax could be more than doubled without reducing the exemptions and without exceeding the present maximum rates, while at the same time improving the market values of corporation securities. The taxpayers themselves would profit from the tax they would have to pay, partly through the increased security of their investments under stabilized conditions, and partly through the increasing profits that would result from strong consumers' demand and rising standards of living.

By "prosperity pensions" is meant pensions to every man and woman who proves a specified age and American citizenship, regardless of income or property or ability to work. These could be started at $10 per month, which for the 7 million people in this country over the age of sixty-five would require an annual appropriation of $840 million. From time to time, when it appears that the mechanization of industry is outstripping consumer demand, the pension rate would have to be increased to maintain the balance, but by this method the balance could be maintained. "Prosperity pensions" are proposed as the best method of putting

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purchasing power into the hands of the consuming public for the following reasons:

(1) They would reach every corner of the country equally and fairly.
(2) They offer less opportunity for corruption than any other method of disbursing millions.
(3) They would not interfere with or compete with any industry.
(4) They can start moderately, but can be increased indefinitely, so as to divert any volume necessary to keep mechanization and consumption in balance.
(5) They can be continued indefinitely so that business will not worry over the effects of termination.
(6) They are not subject to engineering halts and delays.
(7) When overmechanization again threatens, they can be increased *immediately,* warding off depression before the vicious circle gets started.
(8) "Prosperity pensions" would reduce the need, now too desperate, for savings and investment, and would thereby set in motion an auxiliary pump by enabling people before pension age to save less and spend more. This would multiply the effectiveness of the "prosperity pensions" themselves and the income tax, so that the total diversion of purchasing power from mechanization to consumption might be many times the amount of money handled by the government.

Although this plan would fill a great social need in caring for the aged, that is not its prime purpose. Its most important aim is so to balance our productive facilities against consumers' demand as to maintain permanently conditions that will conduce to general prosperity, under which both the demand for labor and the values of investments would be maintained.

Unlike most of the other plans, this one does not introduce dictatorial powers or governmental regulation of the details of any business. It leaves American industry open to the exercise of private initiative. In addition it builds prosperity on the domestic market. Hitherto the surest known way to build prosperity has been to drive our exports into foreign markets, a policy which, pursued by all the Great Powers, has given rise to international friction and the raising of tariffs all over the world. A great improvement in international relations might be one of the by-products of the plan, if it proves true that we could thus build prosperity on our own domestic market.

New York City. JOHN WILLARD ROBERTS.

Outsmarting the Communists

SIR: As a member of neither the Communist nor Socialist camp and also as one who has had no faith in the German Democracy since 1914, I have nevertheless been watching with some amusement The New Republic's righteous rage at the German Social Democrats and its whitewashing of the German Communists in connection with the triumph of Hitlerism, especially as expressed in your editorial comment on the Bonn review in the issue of May 10.

The Communists were bent on destroying capitalism, you say, the Socialists on preserving it until it dies a natural death. The German Communists have shown repeatedly in the past year or two that they preferred Fascism to Social Democracy and have on several occasions, particularly in Bavaria, voted with the Fascists against the Social Democrats. In view of this, their later call for a united front with the Socialist "betrayers of the working class," after Hitler had outsmarted them, seems a little inconsistent. They got what they asked for.

As late as last November, a prominent New York Communist assured me, while arguing in support of the veterans' bonus, that the Communists everywhere were successfully "boring from within" the ranks of Fascism and that in Germany a number of Communists were high in the councils of the Nazis—ready, I presume, to swing them to the Left when the "revolutionary situation" occurred. If this is true—and he was in a position to know what he was talking about—they seem to have slipped up. Is it not a little unreasonable of them to howl now about the course of a whirlwind they helped to set in motion on the remote possibility that it might blow left?

San Francisco, Calif. TRAVERS CLEMENTS.

The Constitution and the States

SIR: In your issue of April 26, 1933, in speaking of the Alabama and Georgia Negro cases, you say:

> Cases such as Downer's show how inadequate is the federal Constitution to compel reform.

This gives an erroneous impression of the situation. As a matter of fact the federal Constitution, *as written,* is fully adequate for the purpose, as far as any Constitution can be. No Constitution is self-executing, but the Fourteenth Amendment contains the provisions necessary for the purpose of enabling Congress to furnish the protection needed. Or, rather, it *did* contain those provisions until the United States Supreme Court nullified them in a series of decisions commencing with United States vs. Harris (106 U. S. 629) decided in 1883, in which an attempt by Congress to set up a federal machinery to enforce those provisions was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. It is important that responsibility for the present deplorable condition be placed where it belongs.

New York City. L. B. BOUDIN.

Extracts from Letters

H. T. MUZUMDAR, New York City, writes to say that he believes the actions of the British in India are quite as bad as the actions of the Hitlerites in Germany. He says that "persecution is going on in India every day in order to uphold British prestige and power and to 'safeguard' the fat dividends of British capitalists."

The Committee for the Reinstatement of Morris Oshatz, Brooklyn, New York City, writes to protest against the dismissal of Mr. Oshatz, formerly a student at the New Utrecht High School, New York City. The Committee charges that Mr. Oshatz was expelled by the principal, Dr. Harry Potter, because he distributed circulars which were part of a campaign against a unit of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in the school.

The Unemployed Teachers' Association, 323 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, writes to protest against the policy of the New York City Board of Education. It is charged that "job sharing" is being used by the Board, which sends two substitutes to take the place of one regular teacher. These substitutes receive only $3 a day each and the association considers that this is "a direct attack on the established rates of pay for substitutes in the schools and the prelude to another reduction in salary for regular teachers." The association also protests against giving special assignments to teachers on a so-called "tragic-case list," which it says opens the door to the use of political influence and favoritism.

Hubert C. Herring, New York City, forwards to us a letter from a high-school teacher in Chicago reporting conditions among the teachers in that city. The letter says that "Chicago teachers carry the heaviest teaching load in the country. There is a 54-percent overload in the high schools. In spite of an increase in high-school attendance of 114 percent, no provision has been made for new teachers. The bankers are asking us to carry the heavy load of additional work caused by the depression. We have had two weeks' pay since May, 1932, and the total amount now due us stands at almost $40 million. I wish I could accurately picture the trail of the wreckage which this situation has caused—lost homes, forfeited insurance, repossessed cars, lack of medical service, insults from creditors, a breaking of morale and actual hunger." Mr. Herring suggests that our readers who do not approve of these conditions should write to Mr. Charles G. Dawes, 208 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois, and say so.

Richard Rohman writes on behalf of the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York City. The Rand School and affiliated organizations are badly in need of funds and are appealing to liberal and labor groups, and to individuals, for assistance.

The National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, 75 Fifth Avenue, New York City, asks funds for the purpose indicated in its title.

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Unconfidential Reports

The United States in World Affairs: 1932, by Walter Lippmann, Charles Merz and William O. Scroggs. New York: Harper and Brothers. 371 pages. $3.

The League on Trial: A Journey to Geneva, by Max Beer. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 415 pages. $4.

The Challenge of Europe, by Sherwood Eddy. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 335 pages. $2.50.

IT IS told of the late Lord Balfour, England's wartime Foreign Minister, that he never read a newspaper in his life. Newspapers, in his opinion, were fit for scullery maids. They seldom printed any news, and when they did it was always half-wrong and always something Lord Balfour and his associates in the English ruling caste had known for months. Ten years ago Mr. Lippmann advanced the belief that this complete divorcement between the information possessed by the ruling group and the information which was allowed to trickle down to common citizens was the first and most obvious reason why democracies have always been ineffectual, awkward and cruel. In "The United States in World Affairs: 1932" and its predecessor of last year, Messrs. Lippmann, Merz and Scroggs have set out to bridge this gap. They have written a book intended for every man and every woman, but which reads very much like the confidential reports (except that it is infinitely better done) regularly prepared for the great of Wall Street and Washington.

The technical brilliance of the authors has been often celebrated. In the present volume they have a chapter on tariffs, a subject of which the obscurities are perhaps exceeded only by Scotch theology. Governmental statistics on tariffs are notoriously misleading, and trustworthy information about actual tariff administration and its changing effects upon private business are extraordinarily hard to obtain. Yet under the magician's hands of Messrs. Lippmann, Merz and Scroggs, relevant fact after relevant fact obediently appears and drops into place, and there is built up, solidly and understandably, the awful picture of a civilization, negligently and almost inadvertently committing suicide.

The final chapter of the book, on the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva, presumably has had the approval of Mr. Norman H. Davis, and may be taken as the frankest and most complete statement of American policy which has yet appeared. It confirms the belief that following the adjournment of the Disarmament Conference last June, the United States entered a virtual alliance with England and France, or more exactly, with the civilian elements in the English and French Cabinets. During last autumn, this civilian bund of Mr. Davis, Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot waged a victorious battle against the combined general staffs and admiralties of all Europe, forced through the Five Power agreement of December 11, under which Germany returned to the Disarmament Conference, and (as is here authoritatively revealed for the first time) compelled a French-Italian naval understanding. Unhappily, the events of the past few weeks have shown that this victory was only temporary and partial.

Superb in all its details as is "The United States in World Affairs," it is possible to question the premise on which it is based. The year 1932 is described as a "year of postponement" in American foreign policy, on account of the bitter deadlock between Mr. Hoover, who wished to balance the budget, and Congress, eager to embark on vast schemes of public works and relief. The authors appear to regard this deadlock as inevitable, and accept the view that the balancing of the budget was of paramount importance, and conceivably they are right. There is, on the other hand, a considerable body of opinion which holds that a boldly inflationary policy had an excellent chance of success, and that with its success the year 1932 might have been made internationally a year of useful achievement.

"The League on Trial" and "The Challenge of Europe" are significant less for what they say than for the attitudes assumed by their respective writers. Herr Beer, a German and professed internationalist, administers an unmerciful dressing-down to the League. Dr. Eddy, who is a Christian and a leader of the Y.M.C.A., hesitantly and with many reservations renounces his allegiance to the capitalist system.

It is by no means inconceivable that Germany may in the near future bolt the League of Nations, and if it does the explanation will be found in Herr Beer's book. Here is a German, reported to be a former League official and obviously of a pacific, liberal turn of mind, who despises the League utterly. He writes with great (although sometimes too elegant) wit, and gives entertaining movie shots of Sir Eric Drummond, M. Avenol, Herr Dufour-Feronce and M. Sugimura—those former minor foreign-office officials who, by their translation to the League Secretariat, are on their way to becoming world legends. Herr Beer inquires whether any change would be noticeable at Geneva if the League were suddenly changed to a League to Prevent Peace. He decides there would be no discernible change: there would be the same rustling officials, the same endless reports "and when cries of 'Long live war!' were heard in the debating halls, the interpreters would rise as obediently as in the past and repeat with quiet zeal, *'Vive la guerre!'*"

It is possible to sympathize with Herr Beer's anger without feeling that his arguments against the League have any especial merit. He bases his case wholly upon the League's failure to right the wrongs done Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. The League has done nothing about Danzig or the Polish Corridor, or about Germany's inferiority in armaments, and it has actively opposed the Austrian Anschluss—all of which is true but irrelevant. The frontiers of Europe have never been drawn, and never will be drawn, to suit all nations. The purpose of the League is not to do justice to any particular country, but to give the people of all nations a chance to forget about their national ambitions and prestige in the pride of belonging to a world state. It may be said that the League has failed miserably in this purpose, but this is the only valid ground on which it may be attacked.

Dr. Eddy's book, for the most part, resembles nothing so much as a Woolworth's Five and Ten. On counters neatly labeled with the names of European countries, you find innumerable inexpensive, durable little facts, heaped together in no apparent order. You learn, for instance, that "Italy is a country of slender resources" and that "the Englishman plays football in the heart of Africa by Rugby rules, and carries his bathtub and his dress suit to the islands of the Pacific." It is only in his final chapter that Dr. Eddy gives his own opinions which, of course, are those of one of the most distinguished American social workers. He believes we are rapidly drifting toward a Fascist dictatorship in this country, that capitalism has failed and that we must adopt a program of "socialization, or social justice," which seems to be a near relative of the Fabian Socialism of England and the Rathaus Socialism of Vienna. It is what thousands of those who voted for Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal thought they were voting for, and perhaps still think they are getting.

JONATHAN MITCHELL.

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"Even If There Were . . ."

The Dark Invader, by Captain von Rintelen. New York: The Macmillan Company. 288 pages. $2.

I Was a Spy! by Marthe McKenna. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. 288 pages. $2.75.

IN FOREWORDS and publishers' blurbs, books of war experiences by spies, soldiers of fortune and the like are frequently advertised as being implicit "indictments" of war. This is seldom true, even though the author himself may—usually as if it were a sort of afterthought—insert a plea for peace at the end of his text.

I cannot imagine a young and jobless generation being prejudiced against war by books like "I Was a Spy" and "The Dark Invader." On the contrary, the very nature of the spy's work, with its excitement, danger—great and constant enough, surely, but not to be compared with that of the trenches—its chance for fame, its "romance" and comparative freedom of action, is such as might have just the opposite effect upon, say, our American youth—that unlucky youth still sucking at the dry breasts of nationalism and individualism. Spies are arch-individualists and, if they are not mere adventurers, arch-nationalists.

"It was said that it was he [the Kaiser] who was responsible for the War. . . ."

Mrs. McKenna was a young woman when the Germans occupied Belgium. She was used by the British Intelligence Office to get information about German movements in the Roulers section. To relate her many extraordinary exploits is impossible. In a few words, she was able by her ingenuity to cause the death and wounding of innumerable men. Dying and wounded, they were brought to the Roulers hospital . . . and Mrs. McKenna nursed them.

"In the fight for Germany's existence. . . ."

Captain von Rintelen was in his country's Naval Intelligence Service. He was sent to America to hinder shipments of arms to the Allies. His principal way of doing this was having timed detonators placed in the holds of munition ships. This was the method most effective . . . but von Rintelen had many other resources. He was even able to further his purpose by taking advantage of the pacifism of many dock workers, starting a union of his own and calling the men out on strike. His influence was behind a walkout in the Bethlehem Steel Works. He also capitalized on Irish feeling against England, and played the Mexican Huerta against President Carranza and against the United States. It is impossible to think of anyone performing what he considered his duty with more thoroughness. As a matter of fact, both the Captain and Mrs. McKenna showed a fortitude, intelligence and energy in destruction that one admires proportionately with one's regret that such qualities should not then—or might not now—be devoted to other purposes.

In Henri Barbusse's "Under Fire," a book which is truly an indictment of war, I remember a scene which pictures a number of soldiers who have become separated during the night from their main body and whom the dawn finds in a little bunch up to their necks in the mud of No Man's Land. They talk with each other, and they have the beginning of understanding. Why do we fight? Who makes wars? Who does the fighting? Here, where wars are really fought, in the mud, in the fire, in the water which is a soup of dead men's parts, one of the living says: "It would be a crime to exhibit the fine side of war, even if there were one!"

If it is going too far to call the work of espionage a "fine" side of war, still I think it may be suggested to sincere foreword and blurb writers that they remind their readers who are potential fighters of one thing: when they are hired for war there will be a hundred thousand jobs in the mud for every free-lance adventure behind the lines.

DONALD MINOT YOUNG.

Seventy-five Short Stories

Modern American Short Stories, edited by Edward J. O'Brien. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.50.

Short Story Hits, 1932, edited by Thomas H. Uzzell. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

Twentieth Century Short Stories, edited by Sylvia Chatfield Bates. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.25.

FOR THE past fifteen years, Edward O'Brien has been reading contemporary short stories and selecting the best of them for his anthologies: I suppose that by this time he has read more short stories than anyone else in the world. At the end of each volume there is a long supplementary list of several hundred stories which do not deserve inclusion with the best, but which are still good enough to be mentioned as distinctive. By this time Mr. O'Brien's critical standard has become fairly well known. It has been revealed more by the stories he has chosen than by his critical remarks, for of all anthologists he seems to find the worst and most confused reasons for picking the best stories of any particular year.

Now his habit of looking for the best has been turned against himself. He has anthologized his own anthologies, selecting the best-best story from each of his fifteen annual volumes. "Modern American Short Stories" is an interesting book. There has been a real change in this form of fiction; an astonishing one if we can believe Mr. O'Brien, a change he artfully suggests by choosing the work of such writers as Barry Benefield and Fannie Hurst to represent the early years of his collecting, and that of Anderson and Hemingway and Glenway Wescott to represent the twenties.

Thus, in the first part of the book there are naïve little tales pointing out the advantages of American life—free speech, for example, or public schools. They seem either exasperating or quaint and rather touching; reading them is like playing over some old and scratchy phonograph records. Barry Benefield is represented with a story about a woman who wins a financial reward for herself—and for her employer—by feeling a real tenderness towards a doll. Both Irvin Cobb and Theodore Dreiser have sentimental stories about old people who cherish the illusions which protect them from reality. Disillusionment rears its ugly head with Ruth Suckow's "Renters" and thereafter remains as the dominant literary mood. This little story, incidentally, with its lack of verbal trickery and its hard, rather awkward presentation of Middle Western tenant farmers who fix up a farm only to be dispossessed from it, is quite the most suggestive in the book. It remains almost troublingly in the memory after a smooth and artful piece like Hemingway's "The Undefeated" or Wescott's "A Guilty Woman" slides away or remains only as an exhibition of technical dexterity. But when the first patriotic bits are compared with the work of Hemingway and Wescott and others a real development is apparent—a development which Mr. O'Brien consistently refers to as progress.

It is difficult not to feel that he reaches this conclusion by stacking the cards. For years he has been struggling against the commercial, the machine-made story, and he now

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believes that the battle has been won. The year 1930, he wrote rather cryptically, marked the beginning of the period of artistic maturity of the American short story. The story written according to a rigid formula, to meet the demands of some narrow-minded commercial publisher, has been completely routed; the little magazines, unrestrained by convention, have been triumphant. Mr. Uzzell's "Short Story Hits, 1932" flatly contradicts this cheerful view of the short story's progress. His groupings are even more theological and subtle than those of Mr. O'Brien. His "hits" are divided into three classes: those taken from the "all fiction" magazines, from the "big circulation" magazines, and from the "literary" magazines. These are ingenious divisions, and the stories he chooses are typical of each class, but what is more striking is that there is no vast difference between the best taken from the "all fiction" and the "big circulation" magazines of this year and those Mr. O'Brien selected as the best fifteen years ago. The popular writers, evidently, have never heard of their defeat. They seem to know nothing whatever of post-war disillusionment. They are as cheerful and as smug as ever.

Looking beyond the editors' descriptive phrases, these books are valuable for what they reveal of the genesis of the "literary" story. When Mr. O'Brien began making his collections, the commercial story was almost the only type that was being published. Its economic function was to fill space between the advertising pages of magazines, and, by being continued from page to page, seduce the reader into looking at one advertisement after another. Its form, length, subject matter, the language in which it was written, the reward paid its author—all these were directly determined by advertising and consequently by the needs of business. It attempted to appeal to as large an audience as possible on the basis of currently accepted beliefs; it could deal with only the most familiar, the most easily recognizable aspects of contemporary experience. A plot was emphasized above all other features; sensuous impressions were loosely or carelessly communicated; the less obvious aspects of a situation were resolutely avoided. Motives were codified into distinct types, such as revenge, self-sacrifice, ambition; and a simple reference to the *kind* of motive was presented as an adequate explanation of an act.

The writers for the little magazines concentrated on the qualities in fiction that the popular writers ignored; they dispensed with plot; they emphasized the sensuous impressions of the scene; they concentrated their talents on communicating the finer shades of sensation, the less familiar aspects of contemporary experience; they dealt with situations which were odd or unusual, or they amplified the picturesque aspects of them. Careful writing—and sometimes a simple uniqueness of phrase—became almost an end in itself. They attempted to avoid commonplace themes and settings and language in their work, with the standard for what *was* commonplace formed or modified by the thousands of commercial stories that flowed from the presses each week.

Modern critics generally limit themselves to consideration of that small fraction of the total writing which they define as literature, ignoring or rejecting entirely the vast flood of popular fiction. These collections of recent short stories suggest that such a division is by no means firmly founded, and that the relationship between the two types is close and complex. Edmund Wilson has recently pointed out, in justification of experimental writing, that the influence of a Joyce may filter down to the writers of the cheapest popular fiction; but to read these short stories in the mass, so to speak, leads one to believe that the influence works much more forcibly the other way—that the pressure of popular writing may have a far greater effect on those who are primarily interested in fine letters; that it may largely determine, not the themes and attitudes they adopt, but those which they purposely avoid.

There are some keen insights on this subject in the preface to Sylvia Chatfield Bates' "Twentieth Century Short Stories." Her comments are informed and lucid beyond those of the other editors, and her sketch of the recent development of the short story is convincing. But the collection is disorderly and disappointing: the taste that would appreciate Thomas Mann's "Disorder and Early Sorrow" could hardly be expected to enjoy Zona Gale's little fragment of newspaper-feature sentimentality. Still more puzzling is the inclusion of several weak or flavorless stories—for example, Evelyn Scott's "The Lover," and Mary Johnston's "Elephants over the Hills." With a world to choose from, there was no excuse for favoring mediocrity.

ROBERT CANTWELL.

A Confederate General

Beauregard: The Great Creole, by Hamilton Basso. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 347 pages. $3.50.

THE REWRITING of the War between the Sections began, with a sort of poetic justice, about the time breaks first appeared in the exploitative economy raised by the victors upon the ruin of the old Union. A reëvaluation of the causes, actors and events has continued, stimulated by the speed with which this economy is collapsing. The Southern myth, encrusted about a middle-class mind, is part and parcel of this new America. Mr. Basso announces in his prologue a loyalty to the pre-war, provincial South; condemns the myth in general; then supports his stand in part by the resurrection of Beauregard, a figure of great importance who was discarded by the myth-makers because he did not fit the narrow confines of their vision.

Beauregard began his career happily. From the very beginning he showed himself to be a bold, careful and highly imaginative officer; but his tactless disagreements with the President over war policies brought about his ruin. Davis sent him West; and when accident placed under him Johnston's army, Davis took advantage of a technicality and removed him. Mr. Basso has failed to make the most of this incident. Beauregard's strategy after Shiloh scattered and laid open to detailed attack an army three times the size of his own. This is especially important, since the war was lost in the West and principally by Bragg, who took Beauregard's place.

He was too popular for the government to ignore. He was, therefore, transferred to guarding the coast, a duty he performed with tenacity and skill. One of the finest pieces of narrative in the book is the description of his defense of Charleston against Gillmore and Dahlgren. Later, in the last dark hours, he was holding the back door to Richmond. He proposed a maneuver which promised to destroy Butler and add 10,000 men to Lee's army. But Davis listened coldly. It had become his habit to dismiss with a debater's sophistry all ideas suggested by those men he hated. The plan was too bold even for Lee, exhausted by the strain of continuous fighting. In spite of this insulting lack of confidence, Beauregard bottled up Butler's army and prolonged the life of the Confederacy for nine months. When Grant moved south of the James, he detected the shift and informed Lee, who could not

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believe him. With desperate courage and more desperate tactics he then faced overwhelming arrivals of the enemy until Lee, finally convinced, came to his relief. He had again saved Richmond. For performing this duty without executive permission, Davis virtually demoted him.

Mr. Basso has set down these circumstances with great constraint and clarity. The proportions of his book are wellnigh perfect. His writing is easy, at times flawless, and never vague. One could wish the biography had been conceived on a greater scale, with less of report and more of action narrative, but within the limits he has set himself the author has managed not only to take down the victor of Manassas from his dusty shelf; he has, as well, pointed to the probable cause of Southern defeat: not the material resources of the North, but the desperate vanity of one man who was willing to balance the fate of his cause upon himself alone. The man and the hour had met, but the man again did not equal the hour.

ANDREW NELSON LYTLE.

The Taste for Purity

John Dryden: Three Essays, by T. S. Eliot. New York: Terence and Elsa Holliday. 68 pages. $1.50.

JUST THE other day, it seems, the Abbé Brémond was reading his address to the French Academy: talking of Mallarmé, de Nerval, Valéry, recalling Pater's famous edict, quoting musical-magical lines, seeing the poet (as Rivière said) "at the altar, with God in his hands to be made flesh," assuring the Academy that transubstantiation was possible, that the result was "Pure Poetry."

John Dryden was not a "priest" but a hard-boiled professional. He was proud of his profession; he even confessed to being seriously interested in establishing and maintaining the cleanliness of its tools. He was a craftsman ready to do "poetic" justice to any of the various jobs more or less arbitrarily suggested by the politics, the religion, the literary taste, the dull and impertinent individuals of his day.

Mr. T. S. Eliot has argued, drunk port to, even broadcast for, the honor of John Dryden. His notion was, quite dogmatically, that "Dryden is one of the tests of a catholic appreciation of poetry." In an earlier essay, after reviewing several historic deprecations of Dryden, he ventured the opposite opinion that "Dryden is distinguished principally by his *poetic* ability." Some time later, Allen Tate gave the point the necessary push and wrote: "It is clear that Johnson, some of Pope, a great deal of Dryden and Landor, are *pure poetry*."

So that now, in the comedy of Taste, John Dryden is "pure poetry." Whether or not this is very helpful as thinking, one would hope, as perhaps Mr. Eliot and Mr. Tate hope, that with the aid of this effective tag John Dryden may prove an "influence," that he may redeem deluded "priests" and save verse. For Dryden worked very hard to make verse an everyday medium for clear, supple, vigorous comment; he would have been appalled at the conclusion of Edmund Wilson's recent study of the Symbolists: "For some reason or other, verse as a technique of literary expression is being abandoned by humanity altogether." One shares Mr. Wilson's vagueness about the "reason." For the vision of a possible Dryden in the twenties is forcibly presented by the material, say, of Frederick Lewis Allen's "Only Yesterday." And, to take today, a working awareness of Dryden might have improved the recent poetic "Invocations to and Replies of the Social Muse" (for Mr. MacLeish's use of his own "Conquistador" modified terza rima for a topical comment seemed a professional sin and Mr. Rodman's use of Whitman for the same purpose was surely deplorable).

Whatever Dryden's chances for "reintegrating the poetry mainly French and American since Poe and Baudelaire," he has won a nice tribute from Mr. Eliot. Mr. Eliot does not, as he usually does in his critical essays, treat the question of possible appropriation (as a poet, he has never used Dryden). He merely states the indisputable things about Dryden, the things which, for all the history of taste, George Saintsbury said in his own way in 1881. Mr. Eliot says them with fine affection and in his best academic manner.

WILLIAM J. GORMAN.

Book Notes

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

THE HOUSE OF EXILE, by Nora Waln. *Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Illustrations by C. Leroy Baldridge. 337 pages. $3.*

The Waln family, Quaker merchants of Philadelphia, had traded with Canton merchants of the Lin family, and at the height of the trade had expressed a wish for a meeting of the two clans. This wish was fulfilled in a subsequent generation when the author entertained some of the Lins in Pennsylvania and then spent several years in China, most of them with the Lin family, as their adopted daughter. The knowledge of one phase of Chinese life made possible by this situation is reflected in the directness and intimacy of Miss Waln's narrative. The book covers a Chinese year, with the events and ceremonies of a Chinese lifetime observed at their well regulated best in an upper-class household. By shrewd selection and narrative skill this material is made extremely interesting. But one wishes for more detailed writing on such aspects of modern China as the revolutionary movement, which enters the record for a moment and disappears. Miss Waln seems to favor the quaint at the expense of the important—a choice particularly regrettable since she came in contact with several historic figures.

HISTORY

BENGAL MUTINY, by George Dangerfield. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 272 pages. $2.*

By the middle of the nineteenth century British imperialism, through its pious agents in the East India Company, had got a stranglehold on northern India. Bengal was literally dominated by the Company which for many years had been exploiting its resources, running its governments, annexing its lands, and was now (the natives had begun to believe) attempting to convert its people by force to Christianity. It was out of such conditions that there arose, in 1857, the bloody rebellion of the Sepoys, or native soldiers. Within the year Delhi was captured; Cawnpore, Meerut, Lucknow and other cities sacked and British dominion in India gravely shaken. Mr. Dangerfield tells the story straightforwardly, with more emphasis on picturesque than on social values, and with more sympathy for the merciless conquerors than for the equally merciless rebels.

THE BOLSHEVIKS IN THE TSARIST DUMA, by A. Badayev. *New York: International Publishers. 265 pages. $2.25.*

This book is a history of an important phase of the Russian revolutionary movement. Badayev was a metal worker who was elected to the Fourth Duma as a representative of the Bolshevik fraction in the Russian Social Democratic party. He describes in detail the propaganda work which the fraction carried on in the Duma, in spite of difficulties set up by the Tsarist government. In the end the deputies were tried, imprisoned and exiled to Siberia, their parliamentary immunity having been violated for the purpose of getting rid of them. Their crime was meeting in the house of a friend and sympathizer to discuss party matters. The book also contains valuable material on the split between the Menshevik

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and Bolshevik fractions and has interesting sidelights on the history of the workers' newspaper, Pravda. It is an important contribution to pre-revolutionary history.

Fiction

SOME TAKE A LOVER, by Ann Du Pre. *New York: The Macaulay Company. $2.*

Shamelessly employing the stalest clichés of cheap fiction—including free love, melodramatic suicide, wild bathing parties—this novel is interesting as satire on both the suburban life and the hackneyed literary form. The story revolves around the large Singleton family, nervously gathered around the stricken grandmother and passing the time before her death with extravagantly corrupt pleasures. The author adopts that most effective method of satire: she praises her characters to death. Banalities are recorded as wit; the most fatuous observations are preserved as depths of wisdom. There are some funny passages of mock distress over the well fed troubles of the wealthy, and of lavish praise for the monstrosities of the elaborate home. But on the whole the book is more valuable for what it suggests than for what it says; too much goes on between the lines, and the double meanings are conspicuous only if you are looking for them.

THEY BROUGHT THEIR WOMEN, by Edna Ferber. *New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.*

In a preface to this collection of short stories Miss Ferber calls ours "a world which serves time and digestion with a miscegenetic mixture of tuna-fish sandwich and chocolate malted milk snatched at a drug-store fountain." She then proceeds to prove her own indictment by serving her readers eight short stories that are decidedly in the quick-lunch mood. Five of them treat of single-day events in the lives of a famous actress, a lonely girl facing the loneliness of another New York Sunday, a broker enslaved to the nightly social whirl of his wife's existence, a nurse-maid's day off, a cab driver whose fondest dream is to be a cowboy. Although the rest of the stories extend over long periods of time, and are concerned with more complex themes, they have the same hurried tempo, both in manner and in content. As skillful as Miss Ferber is in achieving a colorful, kaleidoscopic effect, few of her short stories manage to rise above the level of clever journalism.

Contributors

H. N. Brailsford, whose books and articles on international affairs are well known to readers of The New Republic, is at present in London.

Emily Hahn, the author of two novels, "Seductio ad Absurdum" and "Beginner's Luck," will soon publish a diary of her recent experiences in Africa under the title of "Congo Solo."

Aldous Huxley, whose latest novel was "Brave New World," recently returned from this country to England.

Hildegarde Flanner, the author of "Time's Profile," has contributed verse to Poetry, The Nation and other magazines.

Jonathan Mitchell, formerly a European correspondent for The New York World, is the author of "Goose Steps to Peace."

Donald Minot Young, at present free lancing in New York City, is at work on a novel.

Robert Cantwell, the author of "Laugh and Lie Down," will shortly publish his second novel, "The Land of Plenty," under the imprint of Farrar and Rinehart.

Andrew Nelson Lytle, who is farming in northern Alabama, is the author of a biography, "Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company," published by Minton, Balch and Company. He was a contributor to the agrarian symposium, "I'll Take My Stand."

William J. Gorman, who was graduated recently from the University of Michigan, where he received first prize for his book review in The New Republic college contest last year, is now free lancing in New York City.

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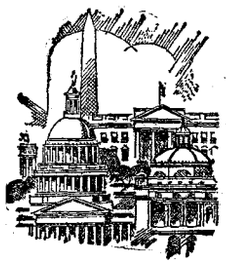

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